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A. STUDIES IN RĀJPUT HISTORY

VOL. I.

ORIGIN OF THE CHĀLUKYAS

WORKS BY THE SAME AUTHOR

INDIA : PAST AND PRESENT SERIES

A. STUDIES IN RAJPUT HISTORY

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STUDIES IN RĀJPUT HISTORY
VOL. I.
ORIGIN OF THE CHĀLUKYAS

BY
RANJIT SING SATYASRAY

With a Foreword

BY
DR. N. K. DUTT, M.A., PH.D.

Principal, Sanskrit College, Calcutta (offg).

Author of *The Aryanisation of India; Origin and Growth of Caste in India*
Notes on Some Castes in Bengal in the Census Report of 1931, etc.

CALCUTTA.

1937.

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DEDICATED

To

HIS HIGHNESS

Śrī Sāmrajya Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Bāndhaveśa Mahārāja
Sir Gulab Sing Ju Deo Bāhādur, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.,
of Rewa, Baghelkhand, Central India,

With best regards

By

The Author.

•

FOREWORD

Rājput—what romance, nobility, and glamour are not woven round the name Rajput which represents the quintessence of chivalry in the history of Mediæval India! Their wonderful bravery, their heroic sacrifices, their regard for honour and troth have set a stamp upon the Rajput warriors which distinguishes them as a class from the rest of the folk in India for about a millennium after the death of Harshavardhana. In the nobility of spirit and reckless self-sacrifice the heroic knights of Mediæval Europe can hardly surpass the warriors of Rājasthan who peer out from the pages of Tod's Annals. No doubt they had their vices too. Their narrow-mindedness, their clan-spirit, their internecine quarrels, their inability to make a stable combination, their haughtiness, their recklessness of consequences have earned them the condemnation of modern writers. But were not these faults present among king Arthur's knights of Britain, the Visigothic knights of Spain, the Frankish knights of Gaul, the Lombard knights of Italy, the Saxon knights of Germany, and even with that pink of warriors, the Norman knights of Mediæval Europe? Similar conditions in Europe and India gave rise to similar problems and similar classes. The fall of the Roman Empire, the invasions of the Huns, the wanderings of the Teutonic hordes, and the coming of Islam produced factors in Europe not unlike those which were witnessed in India after the fall of the Gupta Empire. If India was overwhelmed by Muhammadan conquerors and Europe was saved, the blame need not go to the Rajput fighters alone. The Pratihāras of Rajputāna can claim equal credit with

the Frankish dynasty of Charles Martel in stemming the first tide of Arab victories, though unfortunately the name of the Indian Tours is forgotten. But where was the unifying influence of Papacy in India; where was the crusading spirit in Indian religions to meet the combative faith of the Turkish invaders; where were the unending streams of men, high and low, monks and laymen, flinging themselves recklessly upon the enemy for the cause of the Indian Church and Holy places at a time when there was no national consciousness to bring about cohesion in the ranks of the quarrelsome knights? To make matters worse, in India the reaction of the Hunā and Muhammadan invasions made the fissiparous tendencies of the caste system more rigid and more confusing than before. The difference in the fates of Mediæval Europe and India is not due to any intrinsic superiority of the European knighthood to the Rajput.

India is naturally proud of the Rajput and his achievements, just like a beautiful flower in the coiffure of a lovely maiden or a precious diamond in the crown of a mighty monarch. Who would like to dissect the flower to determine its species and origin, or to dissolve the diamond to find its relation to coal? Yet scientists cannot be restrained from such analytical investigations which are revolting to the poet, philosopher and artist. Indian culture gives preference to the latter classes, and hence science has not been able to keep pace with poetry, philosophy and art in this country. Ethnologists cannot resist the temptation of investigating the origin of Rajput, but the science of ethnology is not agreeable to the taste, culture and tradition of India. The Rajput has done his part well as a noble Kshatriya, as a defender of 'cow and Brahmin.' He must have originated

from the arms of the Creator, and as such must be descended from one or other of the earliest Kshatriya families of the ancient world, because caste is coeval with creation. Why seek to disturb the placid contentment of the people brought about by the law of Karma and the Purusha origin of caste? But scholars like Tod, Campbell, Jackson, Hoernle, etc., coming with the scientific spirit of the West, thought differently, and they found supporters among Indians.

The most distinguished of the Indian scholars to attribute a foreign origin to some at least of the Rajput clans is Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, whose writings on the subject a quarter of a century ago produced a most disturbing effect upon the traditional beliefs and conceptions of the last half-millennium. Champions of orthodoxy like Pandit G. H. Ojha and Mr. C. V. Vaidya have not been slow to enter the lists for attacking the theories of Dr. Bhandarkar and re-establishing the Paurāṇic origin of the Rajput families with arguments on scientific lines. The dust and din of fighting have not yet subsided and the issues remain more confused than ever.

A most puzzling point is the name itself. Rajput as a special caste name is not mentioned in the earlier law books and in the lexicon of Amara. Even the Chālukyas, Parihāras, Paramāras and Chauhānas, who are regarded as the pink of Rajput race, did not call themselves Rajput in the heyday of their power. Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa writing in the seventeenth century traces the Rajput from a Kshatriya-Sūdra union. Some of the later Purāṇas, like the *Brahmavaivartapurāṇam*, get the Rajput as the issue of Kshatriya-Kaṇva parents. Mukundarāma in his *Chandimangalā* composed in the sixteenth century in Bengal speaks of a Rajput as a low-born fellow who

wants to masquerade as a Kāyastha. Even in modern times "Rajput is a word which is indeed used sometimes in common parlance to denote the illegitimate sons of Rajput chiefs." (Vaidya, *Hist. of Med. India*, Vol. II. p. 44). Then one of the thirtysix clans of the Rajput race is Huna. At the same time the Rajputs would not recognise the other Kshatriyas outside the circle of their thirtysix clans. The confusion is not lessened by the want of unanimity regarding the thirtysix names. What is the wonder then that 'twelve Rajputs have thirteen cooking stoves' to preserve the purity of caste?

Secondly, the origins of various Rajput families are shrouded in a bewildering mass of conflicting mythical stories. Thus the Chauhānas and the Chālukyas give contradictory stories about their origins in their inscriptions. The Chandellas sometimes trace a Brahmin origin and also claim a Rāthore pedigree. The Parihāras oscillate between a Brahmin lineage from Harichandra and descent from the famous hero Lakshmaṇa of the Ramayana. The stories about the ancestry of Bāppā Rāwal, the founder of the Guhilot dynasty of Mewar, are no less bewildering. Of course, from time to time ingenious attempts were made to effect reconciliation between different versions, as may be perceived in Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadevacharitam*; or to create a standard version like the Agnikula legend in supersession of the old contradictory stories current. Similar process of standardisation is observed in the ancient Roman history; but while in Rome the collaborations of Greek scholars, the creation of a united Roman nation, and the formation of a single Mediterranean empire rendered the work successful, in India with her political and racial differences accentuated by barbarian invasions

and religious divisions it made confusion worse confounded by only adding to the existing number of legends without succeeding in supplanting the older ones.

The Indian custom of reciting *gotra* and *pravara* names has not helped matters; rather it has revealed the inconsistencies of various genealogical accounts. *Gotra* and *pravara* names of the kingly families are not by themselves very reliable anchorsheets for fixing origin and descent. If Ravana the Rākshasa king could be acknowledged as a descendant of a well-known Brahmin sage Pulastya, and some of the Kirāta barbarians were called Ātreyas and Bharadvājas, as is known from the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇam*, 57, 39-40, or the Hārita was grouped with the Mlechchha and Kirāta (*Rāmāyaṇa* Bālakāṇḍa, ch. 55), how could the reciting of *gotra* and *pravara* names prevent the Hinduized foreigners from claiming descent from Vedic Rishis and kings? The Brahmin law-givers recognised distinction between *varṇa* and *varṇa*, between good castes and untouchable castes, but never between Indian and foreigner; and a foreigner of martial habit adopting the language of the *Āryas* and paying respect to Brahmins would be given a higher status in society than even the Indian Vaiśyas and Śūdras. The Śakas, Yavanas, etc. were Kshatriya disciples of Vasishṭha and degraded by king Sagara, or were descended from some of the cursed sons of king Yayāti, or were born from the different parts of the body of the cow Nandini to fight the army of Viśvāmitra, according to Paurāṇic tradition. They were grouped together with such Indian tribes as the Drāviḍas, Paundras, Cholas, Keralas, etc., many of whom have since been admitted into the Brahmanical social system with appropriate *gotras* and *pravaras*. If not any other, the

gotras and *pravaras* of the Yayāti and Vasistha families were thus open to the foreign barbarians if they only cared to adopt. The law-books, too, recognised them as *Vrātyas* and therefore reclaimable as Kshatriyas. Moreover, the dictum that the *pravara* of a king should be that of his priest and the use of Dvyāmushyāyana (double) *gotra* names have only increased the confusion.

Another factor for consideration is the sudden emergence of new families and new names displacing the traditional ones in the period of turmoil caused by the irruptions of the Scythians, Yuehchis and Hunas. The old dynastic and tribal names of Northern India such as the Purus, Mālavas, Ikshākus, Chedis, Mauryas, etc. have passed into oblivion or insignificance, and the stage is filled all on a sudden with Pratihāras, Chauhānas, Solāṅkis, Paramāras, Rāthors, Chandellas, etc., names which are unknown to the Indian literature upto the time of Manu, Yājñavalkya, Bhāsa and Kālidāsa, but which maintain a political continuity of Hindu India from the eighth century till the present time. The break in the continuity of tradition after the Guptas is apparent even to a casual reader of Indian history. Again, what has become of the continual streams of invaders from the north-west during the first six centuries of the Christian era? We know from the examples of Rudradāmana Śaka and Vāsudeva Kuṣaṇa how they were Hinduized and completely Indianized. Even an orthodox law-giver like Manu acknowledges the foreign invaders like the Yavanas, Śakas, Pahlavas, etc., as Kshatriyas gone astray because they ceased to observe the precepts of the Śāstras. The reclamation of such people is not regarded as impossible. Both literary and epigraphic evidences are not wanting to show that matrimonial

connections were cheerfully entered into with the Hinduized foreigners by the acknowledged Kshatriya princes of India and that such connections were not regarded as ignoble.

These are some of the grounds which have been used by the European scholars and their Indian supporters for questioning the Indian origin of many modern clans. And their easiest prey has been the Gurjara or Gujar. From Gurjara to Pratihāra, from Pratihāra to Chālukya, Chauhāna, and Paramāra, the circle goes on widening till Vincent Smith supposes that all the principal ruling Rajput families in the ninth and tenth centuries were either sprung from foreign conquerors from the north-west or descended from Hinduized aborigines like the Gonds and Bhars. The sweeping generalisations naturally met with counter attacks from the orthodox camp. The dearth of historical materials makes the task of finding weak spots in the opponent's argument and employing negative evidence rather easy. But when it comes to construction on the demolition of the opponent's work the latter regains his vantage point for hitting back. From various circumstances it may not be difficult to raise a suspicion about the genealogical claims of the Chālukyas, for instance; but to prove their origin from the barbarian Chulik or Sulki is as difficult as to trace their unbroken descent from Paurānic sages and kings. The subject, therefore, affords scope for more intensive research and scientific discussion than have hitherto been devoted to it by scholars.

An interesting account of the divisions of the Kshatriyas is given in Ānanda Bhaṭṭa's *Vallālacharitam*, which was written in 1510 A.D. and which reproduces in extenso the *Vyāsa-Purāṇam* by Bhaṭṭa Simhagiri, the spiritual

guide of king Vallālasena of Bengal in the twelfth century A.D. "Hearing from the mouth of his mother that a Brāhmaṇa has killed his father, he (Subhauma) with eyes glowing like the sun proceeded to extirpate the Brāhmaṇas and made the earth devoid of Brāhmaṇas for twenty-one times. Therefore in the Kaliyuga no Brāhmaṇa sprung from the mouth of Brahmā is to be found.....The son of Arjuna, Subhauma, conquering the Brāhmaṇas assumed the title of Jayadhvaaja. Then the Brāhmaṇa females desirous of progeny courted the Kshatriyas. This gave rise to the tribes Kadamba, Pallava and others." (Ch. XI). "The Pāṇḍavas, the Pauravas, Vaudhas, Sahasrārjuna-Haihaya, Chandrātreyā (Chandella), Kalachuri, Raṭṭa, Yādava, Tomara, Kauśika, Kaukura, and Kuśya belong to the lunar race. Ikshākus, Nikumbhas, Mauryas, Sāgaras, Kachchhapaghāṭas, Rāghavas, Gobhilas (Guhilots), and Gāhaḍvālas belong to the solar race. Chāhamānas (Chauhānas), Mallas, Chhindas, Chāpotkaṭas, Chaulukyās, Silāras, Hunas are sprung from the arm of Brahmā. The powerful Paramāras were born from a sacrificial fire-pit. Sālukikas and Sendrakas are the descendants of Kadru." (Ch. XVIII). "From Brāhmaṇa in Kshatriya women was born Chhetri who is also called Rājaputra." (Ch. XXVII). This account takes cognisance of the Agnikula story only with regard to the Paramāras, while the Chandella, Raṭṭa, Kachchhapaghāṭa, Guhilots, and Gāhaḍvāla clans of the Rajput race are traced from the lunar and solar lines. The Chauhānas and Chaulukyās together with the Silāras and Hunas are treated as pure Kshatriyas of the original stock sprung from the arm of Brahmā and the Sālukikas who may be identified with the Sulkis are said to be related to the Nāgas, being born of Kadru. On the other hand; the Rajput is described as the

issue of a Brāhmaṇa father and Kshatriya mother. These statements, though not of much value as historical facts, may be used by one to drive a nail into the Agnikula theory and the identification of the Chālukya with the Sulki, and also to trace a Brāhmaṇical descent for some of the Rajput clans.

In this connection we are led on to the word Brahma-Kshatra or Brahma-Kshatriya. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in his article on the Guhilots in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. V. No. 6. tries to establish a Brāhmaṇa origin of the Guhilots of Mewar and defines Brahma-Kshatra people as those who originally belonged to the Brāhmaṇa caste but later exchanged their priestly for martial pursuits. The *Vallāla-charitam*, however, explains the term as denoting one in whose family were born in ancient times both Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas. Thus the lineage of Vallālasena is traced back through the famous hero Karṇasena of the *Mahābhārata* to king Vali who was the progenitor of the Vāleya Brāhmaṇas, and Vāleya Kshatriyas. Some of the Purāṇas, e.g., *Harivaṃśa* XXXII, *Vishṇu Purāṇa* IV. 18, used the expression in connection with this family of Vali and Karṇa. Bhāṭṭa Simhagiri, however, in order to strengthen still further the Brāhmaṇa connection of the Sena kings relates that one of their ancestors Virasena had married a Brāhmaṇa girl, Somaṭā by name, and that, therefore, in their veins flowed the blood of both Brāhmaṇa and Kshatriya. It shows that even in the twelfth century the word Brahma-Kshatriya had become a source of puzzle to the genealogists and that various meanings were suggested to explain the word. I cite this only to convey an idea of the great caution which is required to make use of materials from the genealogical

records of the princely families and their relations with Brāhmaṇa sages of the Vedic times.

The author of the book has showed great zeal and energy in collecting and examining all relevant materials for the purpose and has honestly tried to deal with the theories and viewpoints of those with whom he feels unable to agree. In view of the difficulties besetting the subject there will remain at least for sometime to come differences of opinion on some vital points regarding the origins of the Rajput clans. Yet the reader, whether he agrees with the author or not, would no doubt admire his industry and learning, and his courage and method in attacking some of the most baffling problems of Indian social history. Let us pray that truth may ultimately triumph.

N. K. DUTT

Sanskrit College, Calcutta,

August 6, 1936.

PREFACE

“Why? They are the descendants of our ancient kings”—is the common answer given by the Hindus to a query about the origin of the Rājputs: the idea seems to be so deep-rooted and unquestionable to them. The social prestige enjoyed by the Rājput princes as the descendants of epic kings throughout the length and breadth of India is so great and unique that even Mādhātā, Śrī Rāmachandra or Śrī Kṛṣṇa perhaps had not such an unquestionable sway over the Hindus in their lifetimes. Let the modern historians like Col. Tod, Mr. Jackson, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar and others refute and tell them that they are not so, but are Scythians, Gurjaras or Nāgara Brāhmaṇas in disguise, the general Hindu population will not even lend them their ears however strong their arguments might be. And, indeed, the history of the Rājputs is so brilliant as to challenge comparison with that of any nation of any time, and so thoroughly Hindu that to own them as their dearest ones is only natural and to link them with the ancient epic heroes is but complimentary. In these series I shall try to discuss the historical evidence regarding the origin, growth, culture and creed of the Rājputs.

Ballads and legends were the main sources available when Col. Tod took up the task of constructing the Rājput history. But these ballads could not take him beyond the eleventh century and he had to observe about the Chālukyas, “Though we cannot trace the history of this branch of the Agniculas to such periods of antiquity as the

Paramara or Chohan, it is from the deficiency of materials, rather than any want of celebrity, that we are unable to place it, in this respect, on a level with them." This was the condition of the history of the Chālukyas more than a century ago when Col. Tod made his remark in 1829. But when the Government of India under-took the task of constructing a well-documented and reliable history of India with zeal and earnestness, abundant historical materials began to be discovered. Brilliant works of Drs. Bühler, Fleet, Keilhorn, Hultzsch, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Rice, Mr. Forbes, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Pandit Bhagvānlāl Indrajī, Major-General Sir Alexander Cunningham and others placed abundant material at the disposal of the historians and very soon it became evident that of all the ancient dynasties the Chālukyas had left us the greatest number of inscriptions and other reliable evidences. Today it can be clearly stated that they were the greatest patrons of the post-Buddhist Hindu Renaissance and His Highness the Mahārāja of Rewa can well claim to be the representative of the oldest ruling dynasty not only of India but of the whole world. They were the patrons of the great scholars like Bilhāṇa, Vijñāneśvara, Pompā, and Hema Chandra. "The chiefs of Rewah have always been great supporters of literature; while several have been good scholars in Sanskrit and Hindī, and they extended their patronage to persons noted for their learning giving them grants of land to induce them to settle in the state."

In the present volume I have discussed only the origin of the dynasty. It has appeared to me that the History of Ancient India has badly suffered from misconception and needs to be rewritten. I do not know whether my readers will agree with me, but I have ventured

to put it before them well documented. That is my only apology.

The question of *gotra* and *pravara* has proved to be a Babylonish jargon to most of the modern antiquarians and excepting Pandit G. H. Ojha, Mr. C. V. Vaidya and a very few others, their consideration has been discarded as useless. But the fact that they have been so often mentioned in the inscriptions is enough to state that they should be thoroughly discussed. The question is no doubt very puzzling. But with patience and perseverance a satisfactory solution is possible. I have used their evidence in a chapter but want of space did not allow me to discuss it thoroughly. However, I shall try to discuss the question in a separate volume at my earliest opportunity.

I take this opportunity to express my great indebtedness and thanks to His Highness Sir Gulab Sing Ju Deo Bāhādur, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., the Bāndhaveśa Mahārāja Shaheb of Rewa for helping me in publishing the book. Like his great ancestors to their contemporary scholars, His Highness has been very kind to the present author. But I have to bring my work to light with a heavy heart and great regret. My great well-wisher Dewan Bāhādur Pandit Janki Prasad M.A., LL.B., Late Adviser to His Highness the Mahārāja of Rewa, is no more. In spite of my best efforts and endeavours, the stagnant atmosphere of India made it impossible for me to bring the book out of the press in time to present him with a printed copy, and today my sole consolation is that he knew what was going to be printed in these pages. May his soul rest in peace! May cordial thanks are due to the Political Member of the State Council, Rewa, to Prof. A. H. Nizami of the Rewa College, and to its Vice-Principal Dr. J. K. Das Gupta for his help and advice.

I offer my hearty thanks to Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhury, the Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture of the University of Calcutta for going through the manuscript in spite of his great pre-occupations. Almost the whole of the present work was carried out in the Imperial Library, Calcutta. My sincere thanks to Khan Bāhādur K. M. Asadullah, B.A., F.L.A., the Librarian, Mr. S. Kumar, the Superintendent, and the staff of the Library for their cordial co-operation. Mr. Kumar's help as the living Catalogue of the Library was very valuable. My thanks are also due to Rai Bāhādur Rama Prasad Chanda, the authorities and the Librarians of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, and of the Archæological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, for the great help I had from their Libraries. I am indebted to Prof. Amulya Charan Vidyabhusan for supplying me some rare books and to Mr. J. C. Ghosh for bringing to my notice the information of the foot note 187 and for several suggestions. My sincere thanks are due to Mr. S. C. Chakravarty, Prof. S. C. Ghosh, Mr. R. C. Adhikari and Mr. C. C. Das Gupta for their help in various ways.

To my esteemed friend, Dr. N. K. Dutt, I owe a great deal. It is for his help, encouragement and advice that the book has grown to what it is now. In spite of his great pre-occupations, he went through the manuscript and the proof sheets.

The illustrations of the Seals and Coins have been borrowed from the *Indian Antiquary*, vols. vi, vii, viii and xix; *JASB.*, vol. xv; *Rewah State Gazetteer*, and *Coins of Southern India* by Sir Walter Elliot, K.C.S.I., LL.D., F.R.S. I knowledge my indebtedness to the proper authorities.

R. S. SATYASRAY.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>As Res.</i>	= <i>Asiatic Researches.</i>
<i>BG.</i>	= <i>Bombay Gazetteer.</i>
<i>Br Up.</i>	= <i>Brhadūraṇyaka Upanishad.</i>
<i>BRWW.</i>	= <i>Buddhistic Records of the Western World,</i> By S. Beal.
<i>BSSP.</i>	= <i>Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra Pravara-dhyāya, Bibliotheca Indica.</i> 3 Vols.
<i>Ch Up.</i>	= <i>Chhāndogya Upanishad.</i>
<i>DHNI.</i>	= <i>Dynastic History of Northern India,</i> By Dr. H. C. Ray, M.A., PH.D. 2 Vols.
<i>EC.</i>	= <i>Epigraphica Carnatica.</i>
<i>EHD.</i>	= <i>Early History of the Dekkan,</i> By Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, KT., PH.D., C.I.E.
<i>EI.</i>	= <i>Epigraphica Indica.</i>
<i>GPNK.</i>	= <i>Gotra-Pravara-Nibandha-Kadamba,</i> By Chentsal Rao.
<i>HI.</i>	= <i>History of India as told by its own Historians,</i> By Sir H. M. Elliot, K.C.B.
<i>HMHI.</i>	= <i>History of Mediæval Hindu India,</i> By C. V. Vaidya, M.A., LL.B. 3 Vols.
<i>HPD.</i>	= <i>History of the Paramar Dynasty,</i> By Dr. D. C. Ganguly, M.A., PH.D.
<i>IA.</i>	= <i>Indian Antiquary.</i>
<i>IHQ.</i>	= <i>Indian Historical Quarterly.</i>
<i>JASB.</i>	= <i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.</i>
<i>JBBRAS.</i>	= <i>Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.</i>
<i>JDL.</i>	= <i>Journal of the Department of Letters,</i> Calcutta University.

- JPASB.* = *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
- JRAS.* = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.*
- MASI.* = *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India.*
- Mbh.* = *Mahābhārata.*
- N Chron.* = *Numismatic Chronicle.*
- NS.* = *New Series.*
- Pad Pur Srk.* = *Padma Purāṇa, Śṛṣṭikhanda.*
- Rājasthān.* = *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān,*
By Lt. Col. James Tod 1829.
- RgV.* = *Rgveda,*
Prof. Max Müller's Edition.
- RT.* = *Rāshṭrakūṭas and Their Times,*
By Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., D.LIT.
- SBE.* = *Sacred Books of the East.*
Edited By Prof. Max Müller.
- SII.* = *South Indian Inscriptions.*
- SK Pur Ngk* = *Skanda Purāṇa, Nāgarakhanda.*
- SmV.* = *Sāma Veda.*
- SP Br.* = *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, Bibliotheca Indica,*
unless otherwise stated.
- T Br.* = *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, Bib. Ind.*
- TRAS.* = *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
- V Ch.* = *Vikramāṅka Deva Charita,*
By Bilhaṇa, Edited by Dr. G. Buhler,
PH.D., D.LIT.
- Yj V.* = *Yajurveda.*
- Yu Ch.* = *On Yuan Chwang,*
By Thomas Watters.



Style of the Chālukya inscriptions (compiled)

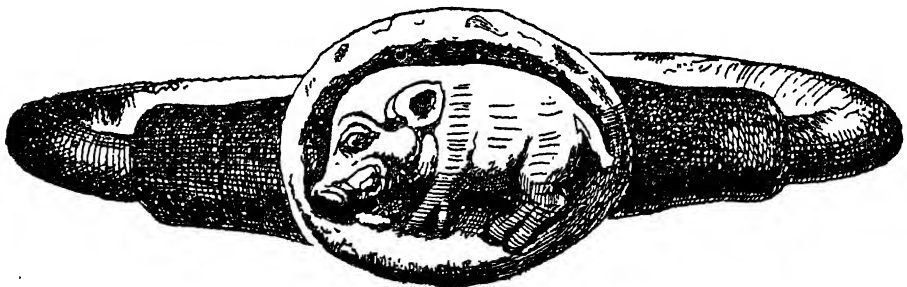
ॐ स्वस्ति । जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णोर्व्वाराहं क्षोभितार्णभं दक्षिणोन्नतद्रुष्ट्राप्र-
विश्रान्तभुवनं वपुः । जयति चालुक्यकुलविपुलजलनिधिरकलङ्कचरितभूपतिर-
कलङ्कयशोम्बुराशिर्वलयितः भुवनः । श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्य-
सगोत्राणां हारीतीपुत्राणां कौशिकीवरप्रसादलब्धराज्यानां सप्तलोकमातृभिस्सप्त-
मातृभिरभिवर्द्धितानां स्वामीमहासेनपरिरक्षणप्राप्तराज्यविभवकल्याणपरम्पराणां
श्वेतातपत्रैकशङ्खपञ्चमहाशब्दपलिकेतनप्रतिदक्कामयुरपिच्छकुन्तसिंहासनमकरतोरण-
कनकदण्डगङ्गायमुनादिखकुलक्रमागतराज्यचिह्नानां त्रिभूवनाङ्कुशानां क्षीरोदधिशयन-
सुप्तोत्थितभगवान्नारायणप्रसादसमासादितवराहलाञ्छनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृताशेषमही-
भृतानामप्रतिहतोत्साहबलमतिप्रतापशौर्यधैर्यवीर्याणां मातृपितृदेवद्विजगुरुचरणा-
नुध्यातानां यथाविधुताग्नीनामग्निष्टोमाग्निचयनवाजपेयबहुसुवर्णपौण्ड्रिकाश्व-
मेधावभूतस्नानपूण्यपवित्रीकृतशरीरहिरण्यगर्भसम्भूतवृद्धोपदेशग्राहीब्राह्मण्यसूक्त्यवा-
गमिसम्वादकानामाश्रितेन्दुकान्तिरपिश्रीवल्लभानां वातापिपुरीयुवतीमधुकरीवधुकुल-
कलितललितगुणकुसुमाकुलपूण्यवरसूर्यकिरणविबोधितविभवश्रीनिष्ठानां सकल-
शास्त्रार्थज्ञकमानवपूराणरामायणभारतेतिहासादिकुशलानां नयविनयविज्ञानदान-
दयादाक्षिण्यसम्पन्नचालुक्यवंशाम्बरपूर्णचन्द्रानां कुलमलङ्कारिणोः । स्वभूजो-
पार्जितवसुन्धरः वङ्गाङ्गकलिङ्गभट्टरमगधमद्रककेरलगङ्गमुषकपाण्ड्यद्रमिलचोलिया-
लुकवैजयन्त्यनलमौर्यकदम्बप्रभृतिरनेकपरनृपतिसमूहावमर्दलब्धविजयदिवमधिरूढः
प्रतापोपनतः यस्य लाटमालवगुज्जरः दण्डोपनतसामन्तचर्या वर्याश्वाभवन्काश्ची-
पतिमुकुटदुम्बितपदाम्बुजः सकलोत्तरपथेश्वरश्रीहर्षवर्द्धनपराजयोपपात्तशब्दः सत्या-
श्रयपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकः रिपुजनमुखकुलभयजात-
संदाहतत्परचरसेवकामलनयनशौर्योर्ग्रहस्तप्रतापवीर्यवेगोधृतः मन्त्राचारदूतसन्धि-
विग्रहस्थानप्रनयनपार्ष्णिग्रहणमण्डलयात्रादुर्गविधानजनपदपौरमान्यविभागकुशलः
भट्टशकुनगणाभिलषितः नृपतिसिंहः जयति । सर्व्वद्वीपाक्रमणमहसो यस्य नौसेतु-

वन्ध्रेल्लङ्घ्याब्धिं वरुणइवव्यदित पृतना रेवतीद्वीपलोपम् । किं बहुना । महेन्द्र-
इवदुर्द्धः रामइवापराजितः शिविरौशिनरइव प्रदातारः युधिष्ठिरइव सत्यसन्धः
वासुदेवश्रोमन्तः मान्धातेवकीर्तिसम्पन्नः।धयावृहष्पत्युशनः समः समुद्रइवगम्भीरः
क्षमया पृथिवीसमः मेरुमलयमन्दारसमः धैर्यः ऋद्धितेजोत्साहविक्रमस्मृति-
मतिप्रतापः यथाकामश्चितार्थानामनेकधर्मकर्मपूण्यप्रसवः चालुक्यान्वयः जयति ।

[भगवान्नारायणनाभिकमलादास अजः हिरण्यगर्भब्रह्मन् । तस्माज्जातः
मनुस्तस्मात् मानव्यः यतः सर्वेः मानव्यगोत्राः बभूवुः । मानव्यपुत्रः हारीतस्ततः
हारीतिपञ्चशिखः यस्मात् चालुक्यकुलेबहवः नृपतयः बभूवुः ।] [अस्मिन् कुले
विजयलक्ष्मीवाञ्छितः अयोध्यापतिः महापराक्रमः सम्राट् सत्याश्रयः बभूव
यस्मात् ब्रह्मचालुक्यान्वयः सत्याश्रयकुल इति ख्यातः ।] ततः परं तत्-
प्रभृतिष्वविच्छिन्नसन्तानेष्वयोध्यासिंहासनासीनेष्वेकादुणषष्टिचक्रवर्तिषु तत्वंश्यो-
विजयादित्योनामाराजापजिगीषया दक्षिणापथं गत्वा त्रिलोचनपल्लवमधिक्षिप्य
दैवदुरीहया लोकान्तरमगमत् । तस्मिन् सङ्कुले पुरोहितेन सार्द्धमन्तर्वाङ्मी तस्य
महादेवी मुडिवेमुनामाग्रहारं कतिपयाभिरन्तःपुरकान्ताभिः कञ्चुकिभिश्च सहोपगम्य
तद्वास्तव्येन विष्णुभट्टसोमयाजिना दुहितृनिर्विशेषमभिरक्षिता सती विष्णुवद्धननन्दन-
मसूत । सा तस्य च कुमारकस्य मानव्यसगोत्रहारीतिपुत्रद्विपक्षगोत्रकमोचितानि
कर्माणि कारयित्वा तमवद्वयत् । स च मात्रा विदितवृत्तान्तस्सन्निगत्य चालुक्य-
गिरौ नन्दां भगवतीं गौरीमाराध्य कुमारनारायणमातृगणांश्चसंतर्प्य स्वकुलक्रमा-
गतानि निक्षिप्तानिच साम्राज्यचिह्नाणि समादाय कदम्बगङ्गादिभूमिपान्निर्जित्य सेतु-
नर्मदामर्ध्यं सार्द्धसत्तलक्षं दक्षिणापथं पालयामास ।

IA., Vols. VII., VIII., IX., XIX etc. The portion within the first bracket
has been restored from Dr. Fleet's translation, the original not forthcoming.
The portion in the second bracket is in Canarese.

SEAL OF KIRTIVARMAN SATYASRAYA II.



Early Chālukya Coins



Coins of Chālukyachandra (Śaktivarman)



Coins of Rājarāja



Seal of Vikramāditya Satyāśraya I.

वराह लोचन



Seal of His Highness, Mahārāja of Rewa



Seal of Mūlarāja I. of Aṇahilapāṭaka



Origin of the Chālukyas

I

Scholars hold different views about the origin of the Chālukyas. With most of the Rājput families, they have been taken to be of foreign barbarian origin by many eminent antiquarians. The Rājputs themselves claim to be descended from ancient Kshatriya kings. Col. Tod¹ was the first to doubt the validity of their claim as such. He noticed that they had affinity² with the Scythians and other peoples that lived on the other side of the Hindukuś during the period of Greeko-Bactrian and Kusan rule in India. But his observations were not backed by historical evidence and could not stand scrutiny. He himself says, "Hereafter I may embody some distinct remarks on the martial races of India, and attempt an approach to the origin of some. It will involve some speculative notions, and without, perhaps, much solid foundation."³ Yet it was enough to raise a doubt about the truth of the Rājput claim, and his remarks about the Agnikulas found favour with later historians. In his search for materials to construct the early history of the Rājputs he dived into the ballads of *Pr̥thvī Rāja Rāsu*, and described the story therein of the *Agnikula* origin⁴ of the

1 *TRAS.*, Vol. I. p. 133 et seq.; Col. Tod—*Rājasthān*, Vol. I.

2 *TRAS.*, Vol. I. p. 137; *Rājasthān*, Vol. I. Ch. I. and VI.

3 *TRAS.*, Vol. I. p. 137.

4 *Rājasthān*, Vol. I. pp. 94-95; Vol. II. pp. 440-441.

Chālukyas, Chauhāns, Paramārs and Parihārs as a splendid garb skillfully woven to hide the adoption of some foreign barbarian tribes in the Hindu fold.

Later on, Mr. A. M. T. Jackson⁵ and Sir James Campbell⁶ put forward a lot of evidence to show the Gurjara origin of many of the Rājput clans including the Chālukyas. But the nature of the latter's evidence about the Agnikulas, specially about the Chālukyas "does not merit any serious consideration."⁷ He himself says, "The direct evidence is not strong that the four tribes of Agnikulas, which were re-born in the fire-pit of Mount Ābu to help the Brāhmans against the Buddhists and their foreign allies, were Gujars."⁸ Mr. Jackson, perhaps first to put forward the theory of the Gurjara origin of the Rājputs, also advanced some arguments of the same nature and was not so sure. He says, "The origin of modern Rajput races has always been one of the puzzles of Indian history. This suggestion seems to offer at least a partial solution."⁹ About the Chālukyas he could not produce any evidence at all. But since he supposed the two of the Agnikulas, the Chauhāns and the Paramārs, to be of Gurjara origin, he naturally included the Chālukyas and the Parihārs as well among the great horde of foreign invaders whom the Gurjaras led. "Taking this fact in connection with the prevalence of the surnames Pavār and Chavān among Gujars in such remote provinces as the Panjab and

5 *BG.*, Vol. I. Pt. I. pp. 449-488 (Art. Bhinmāl).

6 *BG.*, Vol. IX. Pt. I. pp. 469-502 (Art. The Gujar).

7 Dr. D. C. Ganguly in *IHQ.*, Vol. VIII. p. 21.

8 *BG.*, Vol. IX. Pt. I. p. 483.

9 *BG.*, Vol. I. Pt. I. p. 468.

Khāndesh, it seems obvious that these two tribes and therefore also the two other Agnikula races, the Parihārs and Solāṅkis are, if not of Gurjjara origin, at all events members of the great horde of northern invaders whom the Gurjjaras led. The agreement between this theory and the Agnikula legends of Ābu need only be pointed out to be admitted."¹⁰

This theory found an illustrious supporter in Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar,¹¹ and it was for him to state definitely that the Chālukyas were of Gurjara origin. "The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that the Chaulukyas were Gūrjaras,"¹² he says, and again, "Solāṅkis and Paḍihārs we know for certain to be of Gūjar origin."¹³ Dr. Hoernle¹⁴ has supported him and has brought forth new evidences in favour of this conclusion. But the main arguments regarding the Gurjara origin of the Chālukyas are those of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar.

Of late, there has been a set-back to the theory of the foreign barbarian origin of the Rājputs and particularly of the Chālukya tribe. Dr. R. C. Majumdar is definitely of opinion that "so far as is known to us at present, the Pratihāra clan, alone among the Gurjjaras, played an important part in ancient India,"¹⁵ and that though "it is true that the origin of other important tribes in India has been traced to the Gurjjaras," yet "while all these theories may be accepted as good working hypotheses, hardly any of

10 *BG.*, Vol. I. Pt. I. p. 468.

11 *JBBRAS.*, Vol. XXI. p. 425 et seq.; *IA.*, Vol. XL. pp. 7-37.

12 *JBBRAS.*, Vol. XXI. p. 427.

13 *IA.*, Vol. XL. p. 30.

14 *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 1 et seq.

15 *JDL.*, Vol. X. p. 6.

them can claim to be an established fact.”¹⁶ Dr. D. C. Ganguly¹⁷ rejects the theory of the Gurjara origin of the Chālukyas altogether. Mr. C. V. Vaidya¹⁸ and Mahāmahopādya Dr. G. H. Ojha also strongly uphold the claim of the origin of the chief Rājput families from ancient Kshatriya kings.

II

The story of the Agnikula origin is the foundation on which the theory of the foreign origin of the four tribes has been built. It was first told in a mediæval ballad named *Prthvī Rāja Rāsu* and as narrated by Col. Tod¹⁹ is as follows :—

The impieties of the warrior class (*Kshatriyas*) drew upon them the vengeance of Paraśurāma. He extirpated them twenty-one times and those left had to live in disguise to save their lives and their dominions were assigned to the Brāhmaṇas. But as might be expected, disorder soon ensued for want of strong competent rulers. The *Śāstras*, were disregarded and mankind had no refuge from the demons and infidels. In this exigence, a league of Ṛshis and Devas was arranged by Viśvāmitra (Vaśiṣṭha in the *Rāsu*) and a convention to take the necessary steps and regenerate the ruling class was formed. It had its sitting on the Mount Abu with Indra, Brahmā, Rudra, Viṣṇu and the Ṛshis as members. According to their custom, they sat around a fire-fountain with Ganges-water before them,

16 *JDL.*, Vol. X. p. 6. fn. 2.

17 *IHQ.*, Vol. VIII. pp. 21-22.

18 Mr. Vaidya—*HMH.*, Vol. I. pp. 81-82, 258, 266; Vol. II. p. 11.

19 *Rājasthān*, Vol. II. pp. 440-441.

and after a protracted debate, it was resolved that Indra should initiate the work of creation. He created the Paramārs, Brahmā, the Chālukyas and Rudra, the Prati-hāras; but none of them was equal to the task and so the fourth was created by Vishṇu according to his own image—four armed, each having a separate weapon and was accordingly named 'Chauhān'. "Of all the thirty-six royal races (says Chund, the great bard of the Chohans), the *Agnikula* is the greatest: the rest were born of woman; these were created by the Brāhmins!"²⁰

This of course, is a story,—but a story that has been believed and is believed even to-day. Let us try to find out if there is any basis or materials on which such a story was framed.

It is generally believed that Chānd Bardāi the court-poet of Prthvī Rāja of Delhi was the author of this famous poem. But Mahāmahopādhyāya Kavirāja Syamal Das,²¹ poet laureate of the Udaipur Court and later on Mr. R. R. Haldar,²² who have criticised the work, bring forth corroborative evidence to refute that it was composed by Chānd and that at the time of Prthvī Rāja Chauhān III. The poet laureate of Mewār quotes passages from the text to show that "The Prithī Rāj Rāsā was not written in Prithī Rāj's time, or by Chand, but later."²³ He has compared them with inscriptions and other historical evidences to show that "the dates and eras given in the poem are for the most part incorrect,"²⁴ and the kings of Rājputanā, said to be contemporaries and said to have fought for or against

20 *Rājasthān*, Vol. II. p. 441.

21 *JASB.*, Vol. LV. Pt. I. pp. 5-65.

22 *JBBRASNS.*, Vol. III. pp. 203-211.

23 *JASB.*, Vol. LV. Pt. I. p. 7.

24 *Ibid.*

Pr̥thvī Rāja, lived in different times with wide intervals separating. Then he has proved that the poem was composed and the story fabricated four centuries after Pr̥thvī Rāj's or Chānd's age, and that the author based his fabric on some corrupt history. He has brought forth *Hammīra Mahā-kāvya* as an evidence and says about it in this connection, "In the Hammīr Kāvya composed about S. 1540—42 (A.D. 1484—86), which describes the battles fought by Chauhān Hammīr and his ancestors, the description given of the battle between Prithī Rāj and Sahābuddīn Ghorī, does not agree with that given in the 'Rāsā;' neither do the genealogical tables of the Chauhāns agree in these two poems.

It is a matter of common sense that, if a standard work like the 'Prithī Rāj Rāsā' had been composed before the 'Hammīr Kāvya', the author of the latter would certainly have borrowed facts from it."²⁵

Then he proves that the poem was composed by some poet of Rājputanā after Akbar had ascended the throne and had opened intercourse between Rājasthān and the Imperial Court, some time between A.D. 1583-1613, that is, about four centuries after Pr̥thvī Rāja following some corrupt tradition and that Chānd had nothing to do with it. He agrees with Dr. V. Smith in his remarks, "The Rāsā as we now have it, is misleading, and all but worthless for the purposes of the Historian."²⁶ Mr. R. R. Haldar shows the absurdity and inaccuracy of many an event narrated in the poem about the life of Pr̥thvī Rāja himself and others, and concludes that "most of the incidents cannot happen at all."²⁷

25 *JASB.*, Vol. LV. Pt. I. p. 24.

26 *JASB.*, Vol. LV. Pt. I. p. 27; *JASB.*, 1881, Pt. I. No. I. p. 29.

27 *JBBRASNS.*, Vol. III. p. 203.

He says that "such incongruent and preposterous accounts" can not occur in the narratives of a contemporary author and states that it is a "later forgery."²⁸ From the conclusions of Mahāmahopādhyāya Kavirāja Syamal Das it is very tempting to suggest that the poem might have been composed to rouse the Rājputs to join the struggles of that great hero, whose very name is the emblem of 'Patriotism' even to-day,—the great Rāṇā Pratāpa Siṃha, by some bard of that time. Mr. Vaidya believes²⁹ that the nucleus of the work was written by Chānd, but was subsequently moulded and enlarged by other bards. About the Agnikula story he says that it was Chānd's poetic imagination and that even he did not get it up to mean the foreign origin of the four tribes. We can not accept the possibility of even the nucleus of the Agnikula story being written by Chānd and that during the reign of Pṛthvī Rājā Chauhān III. The epigraphic evidence is strongly against it.

*The Chauhāns in their earliest inscriptions (A.D. 882,³⁰ 973³¹) simply state that they were born of the goodly eminent race of Chāhavāna or Chāhamāna. The Bijolian inscription³² (A.D. 1170) of the time of Pṛthvī Rājā's father Someśvara simply describes Sāmanta, one of the earliest

28 *JPASBNS.*, Vol. XXV. p. 186.

29 *HMHI.*, Vol. II. pp. 19, 15.

* Many of these figures have been gathered from the valuable paper of Dr. Hoernle (*JRAS.*, 1905, p. 1 et seq. see p. 20 et seq.). See also Dr. G. H. Ojha's very interesting book, *Sirohī kī Itihās*.

30 *Zeitschr. D. Morg. Ges.*, Vol. XI. p. 39; *EI.*, Vol. V. App. No. 12, (p. 4).

31 *EI.*, Vol. II. p. 121. V. 13.

32 *JASB.*, Vol. LV. Pt. I. p. 41, V. 12. See also *IA.*, Vol. XL. p. 26, fn. 97.

princes of the dynasty, as a *Vipra* belonging to *Vātsya gotra*. The inscription of Chāchiga Deva³³ (A.D. 1262) of Nadūla says that his great ancestor came out of the eye of Vātsya R̥shi. On the other hand Pr̥thvī Rājā Chauhān III's cousin, and immediate predecessor of his father Someśvara, Pr̥thvī Rājā Chauhān II, links his family with the Lunar dynasty (A.D. 1167).³⁴ Two of the most renowned poems written in honour of the Chauhāns, *Pr̥thvī Rājā Vijaya Mahākāvya* (Canto II.) and *Hammira Mahākāvya* (Canto I.) say that their first ancestor Chāhamāna came out of the Solar Orb (*Sūrya Maṇḍala*). Now, in the Agnikula story, the Chauhāns have been exalted at the expense of the other three. But it is strange that they themselves were not

33 *EI.*, Vol. IX. p. 74; *IA.*, Vol. XL. p. 26.

34 *As. Res.*, Vol. XV. p. 444. Captain Fell, who copied the inscription from a stone among the ruins of the palace of Pr̥thvī Rājā in the fort of Hānsī, and Prof. Wilson translate the passage in question as "born in the race of the descendants of the moon." But Col. Tod translates it as, "sprung of the race of *Chāhamāna*", (*TRAS.*, Vol. I. p. 154). The Stone was presented to the Marquis of Hastings in 1818 A.D. but is now missing. So, as Mr. Thomas says, "It would be rash to arbitrate between these two authorities in the absence of the original document in dispute, with the witnesses on either side in their graves."—(Edward Thomas—*The Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Delhi*, p. 61. See pp. 60-61). Apart from the remarks of Mr. Thomas, another point in favour of Col. Tod is that we do not know of any other document, in which the Chauhāns lay claim to 'Lunar' origin, except in their bardic songs (*Rājasthān*, Vol. II. p. 441). So it is doubtful. Mr. Halder has quoted it from Mr. Thomas, (*JPASBNS.*, Vol. XXV. p. 186). Dr. G. H. Ojha however mentions another inscription which claims a 'Lunar' origin of the Chauhāns in a novel way and not from the traditional Lunar Dynasty. (See *Sirohī kā Itihās*, p. 158). Similarly their claim to Solar origin is not from the celebrated Solar Dynasty.

aware of it as is clear from the above-mentioned inscriptions and poems.

In these circumstances we cannot but accept the conclusion of Dr. Hoernle: "It seems clear, therefore, that the whole of the Chohan clan, in the main as well as the side lines, laid no claim to being a 'fire-race'."³⁵

The kings of the early Chālukya dynasty of Bādāmi, too, do not record any super-natural origin of their family. They traced themselves up to their first ancestor in a quite human order. The Eastern Chālukyas of Veṅgī-traced their origin to the Lunar dynasty. We find the first notice of such a claim in the Rāṇastipunḍi grant of Vimalāditya of the year 1011 A.D.³⁶ The inscriptions of their earlier kings are like those of the Bādāmi dynasty. About the later Chālukyas of Kalyān we have grants of Vikramāditya VI., claiming Lunar origin³⁷ (from the eye of Atri). Raṇṇa,³⁸ court-poet of Tailapa II., founder of the dynasty, traces their origin from Ajodhyāpura and the Bādāmi dynasty in a natural way. Bilhaṇa,³⁹ the court-poet of Vikramāditya VI., gives a story of supernatural origin in his work *Vikramāṅka Deva Charita* (A.D. 1085): 'One day, while Brahmā was engaged in his prayer (*Sandhyā*), Indra approached him and complained that the world was full of infidels and non-believers. The Grand-father (for such is Brahmā in the Hindu mythology) looked at the Ganges-water in his palm (rather *Kamaṇḍalu* for *Chuluka* means pot as well) and from it came out a hero fit to protect the three worlds. From him were descended the Chālukyas.

35 *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 21.

36 *EI.*, Vol. VI. pp. 347-361.

37 *IA.*, Vol. XXI. pp. 167-168.

38 *IA.*, Vol. XL. pp. 43-45.

39 Bilhaṇa, *V. Ch.*, Canto I. VV. 33-67 pp. 4-7.

Hārīta and Mānavya were born in the family and raised it to a great prominence. At first they ruled in Ajodhyā, but afterwards, they came to the Deccan.' This myth, however can be traced earlier to a grant (A.D. 1018) of Kīrti Rāja,⁴⁰ grandson of Bārāpa of Lāṭa, probably after the manner of the *Nava Sāhasāṅka Charita*; it has been repeated in an inscription of Trilochana Pāla⁴¹ of the same family (A.D. 1050). After being created in the manner essentially similar to that described by Bilhaṇa,—(*Viriñcheśchulukāmbodhe rājaratnampumānabhūt*) the hero asked the Creator what he should do. But strange to say, he was asked not to fight, but to marry a Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess in Kānyakubja and raise progeny on her to create an extensive race of warriors. About the Solāṅkis of Aṇahilapāṭaka, we find the same story in the Vādnagar *praśasti* of Kumāra Pāla (A.D. 1151)⁴² and in some of the poems written in praise of them. Their earlier kings did not bother about it. Probably it was adopted from the *Vikramāṅka Deva Charita* which became very famous after its composition. Thus the story of the origin from the palm (*chuluka*) of Brahmā was perhaps first given currency by the Lāṭa Chālukya Kīrti Rāja, grandson of Bārāpa. It was accepted by Bilhaṇa and the Pāṭan but not the Kalyān dynasty adopted it from his poem. But even in these stories, the first ancestor of the Chālukyas was known to have originated from the *water* in the palm or *kamaṇḍalu* of Brahmā and had nothing to do with *fire* or *Agni*.

40 *Wiener Zeitschrift*, Vol. VII. p. 88; *EL.*, Vol. V. App. No. 354, (p. 50). Quoted by Dr. Hoernle in *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 23.

41 *IA.*, Vol. XII. p. 201. VV. 4-7.

42 *EL.*, Vol. I. p. 296. V. 2.

As regards the Parihārs, they call themselves the descendant of a Brāhmaṇa named Harichandra from his *Kshatriyā* wife Bhadrā in the dynasty of Lakshmaṇa (A.D. 837,⁴³ 861⁴⁴). There is no other story (of fire origin or otherwise) connected with them.

About the Paramārs, I shall conclude this chapter by simply quoting Dr. Hoernle. "The only Rajput clan which, so far as I know, puts forth in its records a claim to be a 'fire-race' is that of the Parmars. Their claim can be traced back to about a century earlier than Chand Bardāi, that is, to the year 1060 A.D., the date of the Arthuna (*Ind. Ant.* xxii, 80) and (approximately) of the Udepur *prāśastis* (*E. I.* i., 224), which belong to the junior and senior branches respectively of the royal line of Parmars of Malwa. It is in these inscriptions that we first* meet with the legend of the miraculous birth of the eponymous hero from the sacrificial fire-pit. As told here it runs as follows (*E. I.* i., 234, 236, verses 5, 6): At one time on Mount Abū, Viśvāmitra forcibly took away the cow of Vasishṭa; thereupon the latter caused a hero to arise from the fire-pit (*agni-kunḍa*); that hero slew the enemies, and recovered the cow; in reward thereof the sage gave him the name *Para-māra* or slayer of the enemies. This is substantially the same story as given by Chand Bardāi, though in his version the enemies are Rakshasas, and no mention is made of any abduction of the cow. The term 'fire-race', though implied in the legend of these two *prāśastis*, does not actually occur in them. The first actual use of it we

43 *EI.*, Vol. XVIII. p. 95. VV. 4-8.

44 *EI.*, Vol. IX. p. 279.

* The nucleus of the story is first met with in an inscription of Pūrṇa Pāla of the Abū branch (A.D. 1042). See *EI.*, Vol. IX. p. 11.

find in the slightly later Nagpur *praśasti* of the year 1104 A.D. It occurs there (*E.I.*, ii, 182, verse 4) in the form *vahni-vamśa*, not *agni-kula*.

It may be worth noting that the legend is not found introduced in the nearly contemporaneous Bhinmal inscription, dated 1060 A.D. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, pt. 1, p. 472; *E.I.*, v, App., No. 689), of the Rajputana line of Parmars. This inscription (like those of the Chohans) speaks simply of the "Paramāra race" without the least suggestion of any miraculous occurrence. It would seem, therefore, that the legend of the 'fire-birth' was limited to the royal Parmar line of Malwa. What is curious, however, is the fact that there exist several Parmar inscriptions of earlier date than 1080 A.D. which make no mention whatever of that legend. This circumstance might be thought to prove that the legend was not known before 1080 A.D., or the later half of the eleventh century, if it were not that we have also inscriptions later than 1080 A.D. which do not mention the legend. Such are the charters (land-grants) of Lakshmī Varma Deva, dated 1143 A.D. (*Ind Ant.*, xix, 353; *E.I.*, v, App., No. 121), and of Arjuna Varma Deva, dated 1211 A.D. (*J.A.S.B.* v, 378; *E.I.*, v, App., No. 195). The evidence of the charters, therefore, does not necessarily disprove an existence of the legend earlier than the latter half of the eleventh century, but it does prove that no credence, or at least no importance, was attached to it officially. It might be introduced into private, or semi-private eulogies (*praśasti*), but not into official charters (*Sāsana*)."⁴⁵ *Nava Sāhasāṅka Charita* of Padma-gupta also tells the same story (Canto XI, VV. 64-76), and

the poem was composed before any of these grants during the last quarter of the tenth century. Probably it was adopted from this poem.

It is evident from what has been stated above that upto the very end of the tenth century the idea of any sort of divine or Purāṇic origin did not occur to the three tribes. Only the Parihars had an earlier tradition of Solar origin. From the beginning of the eleventh century, a movement spread amongst them to find out for their origin a 'beginning' as Dr. Fleet observes (*BG.*, Vol. II. p. 342, fn. 1). It seems to have lasted for about two centuries and then died out. For, it is during this period, as we have seen above, that such mythical stories were current among every one of them. The Agnikula story, however, was not known at that time. The invention seems to have begun among at the Pallavas of Kāñchi in the Deccan where almost all the dynasties of that time actively participated in this device. The Purāṇic genealogy of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas connecting them with the Yādavas of the Lunar dynasty first appears in 871 A.D.⁴⁶ The Western Gāṅgas probably connected themselves with a mythological dynasty⁴⁷ about the middle of the tenth century. During this period Mayura Śarmā of the Kadamba dynasty was first divinised.⁴⁸ The Cholas claimed their origin from the solar line through Muchakunda about the middle of the tenth century.⁴⁹ The Eastern Gāṅgas connected themselves with the Lunar dynasty through Turvasu during the first

46 Dr. Altekar, *RT.*, p. 16; *EI.*, Vol. XVIII. p. 243, V. 3.

47 *BG.*, Vol. I. Pt. II. p. 342; *EI.*, Vol. III. p. 176.

48 Mr. Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula*, pp. 7-8; *EC.*, Vol. VII. *SK.*, 117, 236; Vol. XI. *DG.* 35.

49 *IA.*, Vol. XIX. pp. 331, 340.

quarter of the twelfth century.⁵⁰ So Dr. Fleet points out the earliest claim of the Pallavas. It may be noted that all of them claimed to have descended from a first class hero with brilliant achievements—none would like to have been descended according to their *gotra* from a meek Brāhmaṇa. So the Paramārs of *Vaśiṣṭha gotra* readily jumped into the story narrated in connection with the quarrel between Vaśiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra in the epic poems. The story did not originate either with Chānd or Padmagupta or any Paramār king; it is narrated in the *Rāmāyaṇa*⁵¹ as follows :

King Viśvāmitra was once out in the forest with his army. Course of events brought him to the hermitage of Vaśiṣṭha. The sage received him cordially and requested him to accept his hospitality. He agreed and thereupon the sage asked his divine cow (*Kāma dhenu*) *Śabalā* (popularly known as *Nandinī*) to prepare delicious dishes for the guests. The king and his army had a hearty meal that day, but he, seeing the wonderful power of the cow, became covetous to possess her. The sage could not be persuaded to part with the cow. Thereupon Viśvāmitra had resort to violence and wanted to possess her by force. But when his soldiers were dragging her away, she asked the permission of the sage to resist; and she created an army of different tribes. The Palhavas came out of her voice (*Hāmbā*), the Kambojas from her war-cry, (*Huhun̄kāra*) the Varvaras from her mammæ (*Ṣṭana*), the Yavanas from her sex organ (*Yoni*), the Śakas from her rectum (*Maladvāra*), and the Mlechchhas and the Kirātas from her hair follicles (*Romakūpa*). Viśvāmitra with his hundred sons and army

50 *IA.*, Vol. XVIII. p. 166.

51 *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bālakāṇḍa*, Ch. 51-56.

was defeated. He handed over the charge of his kingdom to a son and retired to the Himālayas to propiciate Śiva. He received new vigor and new power, and came back. Everybody in the hermitage (*Āśrama*) was awfully frightened and began to flee in consternation. But the sage was much more than the king, he infused courage in them and brought them to order. Every weapon of the king was frustrated by the "*Brahmadanḍa*" of the sage which became kindled at his hand and looked like smokeless "*Kālāgni* or *Yamadanḍa*"—weapon of death. The king found out that the strength of the *Brāhmaṇa* was greater than that of the *king* and gave up the life of a warrior to become a *Brāhmaṇa*. Padmagupta adopted this story, turned the kindled *Brahmadanḍa* into *Agnikunḍa* and made his hero come out of it to help the sage. There are descriptions of *Agnivaṁśa* in the *Purāṇas* (e.g., *Matsya Purāṇa*, Ch. 51) where it is stated that Agni, son of Brahmā had three sons, Pāvaka, Pavamāna, and Śuchi. All the ancient *Brāhmaṇa* and Kṣatriya families traced themselves from a mythological ancestor. We do not know whether the ancient Paramārs traced themselves from Pāvaka or Pavamāna. But the story in their inscriptions and poem is evidently derived from the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

After the period in question, we miss not only such stories but many of the Rājput principalities. The rising power of the Muhammadan Turks had burst into India and these kingdoms were conquered one after another. In this catastrophe they forgot their stories as is evident from their later inscriptions, and when the author of the *Rāsu* had to find out one he probably turned to the poems and eulogies that were sung. He probably observed that while some Rājput dynasties had definite traditions

as regards their descent from some particular epic line others could not tell anything definitely. There was plurality in their stories. The Chauhāns were either simply descendants of Vātsya Ṛshi or came out of his eyes or claimed a solar or lunar origin. The Chālukyas similarly were descendants of Mānavya and Hārīta in one place, created by Brahmā or Droṇa-Bhāradvāja⁵² from his palm (*chuluka*) or described to be descended from the solar⁵³ or lunar line in other places. Though the Parihārs had no new story other than that of Lakṣmaṇa, perhaps their claim was not well known as they had lost their power for a long time and had only the glory of a past greatness. Yet they were the children of a Brāhmaṇa Harichandra at one time or were descendants of Lakṣmaṇa the younger brother of Rāma, the great hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, or both at another time. So these four dynasties could not claim themselves to have belonged to either the solar or lunar line definitely; and taking the story of *Nava Sāhasāṅka Charita* about the Paramārs as a nucleus, the author of the *Pr̥thvī Rāja Rāsu* probably grouped them all together in one story of creation. The inclusion of the other three in it is his creation. We can therefore safely conclude, "The inscriptions of the Cāhamānas, the Caulukyas, and the Parihāras do not assert anything about their fire-origin. On the contrary, they tell us quite different tales in that connection. The grouping of these three races under 'Agnikula' is nothing but a figment of imagination of the bards of the later ages."⁵⁴

52 *EL.*, Vol. I. p. 257. V. 33.

53 Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, *EHD.*, p. 138.

54 Dr. D. C. Ganguly, *HPD.*, pp. 7-8, fn.

The story told by the European historians narrates that the Agnikulas were created to save Hinduism from the Buddhists. Even the story of the *Rāsu* does not say so, according to it, they were created to establish law and order and to protect the religion from the demons and infidels. The relation between the Hindus and the Buddhists was quite friendly.⁵⁵ The controversy between them was theological and quite verbal in nature. *Iron* never entered into their arguments. There is no such thing as the religious wars of the European history or the Crusades of Palestine in the history of Hindu India. Moreover in those days, all Rājput kings were not Hindus; many of them were devoted Buddhists and Jainas; and they changed their religion at will as if Buddhism and Jainism were sects of Hinduism like Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. The Chinese traveller Itsing informs us that Bhartṛhari, grammarian, philosopher and poet in one, who died in 651 A.D., fluctuated altogether seven times between the Buddhist monastery and Hinduism (lay world). His celebrated *Śatakas* are distinctly Śaivite in character. The father has been known to be a Hindu, but the son a Buddhist or a Jaina and *vice versa*. Siddha Rāja Jayasimha, a celebrated king of Pāṭan, was a devoted Hindu; but his nephew and successor, Kumāra Pāla was a renowned Jaina. Hindu kings had Buddhist wives and Buddhist kings had Hindu wives worshiping their own religion. There are innumerable instances of devoted Hindus patronising the Buddhist and Jaina monks with land and otherwise; on the other hand the Buddhist and Jaina kings seldom failed to show proper regard for the Hindu gods and Hindu temples. Lord

55 See *RT.*, pp. 272-275.

Buddha himself is looked upon by the Hindus as one of the ten incarnations of the Almighty God—not the ordinary ones. Buddhism was *conquered* by a Brāhmaṇa *Sannyāsi* Śrīmat Śaṅkarāchārya with about half a dozen followers. And the irony is that he is looked upon as a Buddhist in disguise (*Prachchhanna Bauddha*) by the Hindus of the Vaiṣṇava sect. To establish his own *Advaita* School, he rose equally against all,—the Buddhist, Pūrva-mīmāṃsā, Sāṅkhya, Pātañjal, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, and the *Dvaita* Schools, treated them all alike, and conquered them all. The Buddhists for their predominance only drew much of his attention. But we cannot enter into details here.

So there is nothing to prove the Agnikula origin of the four tribes and it is a story of much later date. It has been utilised by the sponsors of the theory of foreign origin of the Rājputs without properly testing its truth. It cannot be accepted either to prove their celestial or foreign origin. The story was invented not to hide a foreign origin but to claim a heroic one as we have already seen; for otherwise we would have found thirty-six knights coming out of the fire-fountain, and not four only.

III.

The nature of the evidence put forward by Sir James Campbell and Mr. Jackson does not deserve any consideration. They themselves are not serious about their remarks and have put them by way of “suggestion”⁵⁶ and hope “at least a partial solution” out of them.

It is the observations of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, who is so sure of the Gurjara origin of the Chālukyas and who has brought forth historical evidence of importance to corroborate his views, that deserve a careful consideration. But his arguments do not stand trial. He himself has quoted⁵⁷ the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśi II. (A.D. 634). wherein the Chālukya king takes pride in having defeated the Gurjaras, in the same paper, in the same page and in the paragraph just above wherein he has advanced his points in favour of his conclusion. But this no doubt distinguishes Pulakeśi and his stock from the Gurjaras.

He has shown in this connection⁵⁸ that Gujarāt was known up to the time of Govinda IV. of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty as Lāṭa; but that it was at the time of the Chālukyas that the country was known after the Gurjaras. He has cited the Dohād inscription (A.D.1140) of Jayasimha, the Somanāthapāṭana *praśasti* (1168 A.D.), and many others together with some local Sanskrit treatises of earlier composition such as *Pravāsakṛtya*, *Gaṇadhara Svārdhaśataka*, *Gurvāvalī Sūtra* and a Jaina work named *Pattavalivachana* in his favour. He then concludes that since the country was known after the Gurjaras during the reign of the Chālukyas the Chālukyas must therefore be of Gurjara origin. He has then tried to show that the father of the first Chālukya king Mūlarāja of Gujarāt known as Rāji came from Kanauj, and since Kanauj was at that time ruled by the Parihārs who are held to be of Gurjara descent therefore Rāji was also of Gurjara origin. He says, "Mūlarāja thus becomes connected with Kanauj in the

57 *JBBRAS.*, Vol. XXI. p. 425.

58 *Ibid.*, pp. 425-427.

north, which, as shown above, was upto the middle of the tenth century a seat of the Gūrjara power. Mūlarāja thus appears to be of Gūrjara nationality, and this is in keeping with the conclusion that Chaulukyas were Gūrjaras arrived at from the fact that it was since their settlement that Gujarāt came to be called after Gūrjaras."⁵⁹ We cannot understand why Mūlarāja the Chālukya should be a Gurjara because his father is said to have come from Kanauj—the kingdom of the Parihārs who have also been held to be of Gurjara origin.⁶⁰ We shall discuss the circumstances that possibly brought Rāji to Kanauj and compelled him to come to Gujarāt in disguise, later on.

Dr. Ganguly's criticism in answer to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has been so nicely put that we shall end the the controversy by simply quoting him. He says, "The nature of the evidence, from which Mr. Campbell has drawn his conclusions, does not merit any serious consideration. Dr. Bhandarkar's observations, if examined with other evidences, which he had evidently missed to take into consideration, do not stand criticism. It is true that the territory known as Sārasvatamaṇḍala had assumed the name Gurjara since the 11th century A.D. Jinadattasuri's *Gaṇadharaśārdhaśataka* mentions Anahillavāḍa (modern Patan in Gujarat) as the capital of Gurjaratrā when Durlabha was ruling there. It is significant that as soon as Sārasvatamaṇḍala assumed the name Gurjara, the ancient Gurjaratrā in Eastern Rajputana gradually became less known as such, and was divided into small territories under various names as Medāpaṭa, Sapādalakṣa, etc. This sug-

59 *JBBRAS.*, Vol. XXI. p. 428.

60 *Ibid.*, pp. 413-425; *I.A.*, Vol. XL. pp. 23-24.

gests that a large number of Gurjara population migrated from the Eastern Rajputana in the 10th and 11th century A.D.* to Sārasvatamaṇḍala, to which they gave a name after their own.

Quite contemporaneously with the Caulukya rule in Gujarāt, another Caulukya family to which Bārapa and his successors belonged, governed the country of Lāṭa, independent of foreign control. Lāṭa retained its name as such till the 13th century A.D. If the Sārasvatamaṇḍala changed its name as Gurjara due to the establishment of the Caulukyas there, it is inexplicable why Lāṭa failed to follow the same course. Similarly the Deccan, Andhra and Kalinga where the Cālukyās had numerous settlements are not known to have ever borne a name having any reference to Gurjara.

While there is no evidence to prove the Gurjara origin of the Cālukyās on the one hand, we have on the other a record which negatives it. The Aihole inscription of

* During this period, the Parihārs and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas lost their supremacy for ever. A new set of kings and dynasties rose into prominence and divided the Pratihāra and Rāṣṭrakūṭa empires amongst themselves. They are the Chāhamānas of Sakambharī and Nadūla, the Paramārs of Abu and Mālwa, the Tomars of Delhi, the Chandellas of Jejā-Bhukti, the Kachwāhas of Rājputanā and Central India, the Gohilots of Mewar and the Chālukyās of Pāṭan and Kōlyān. The history of India entered into a new chapter and her map was thoroughly re-modelled. The fall of the "door-keeper" made the way easier for the Muhammadans who were pressing vigorously at the gate to get into the heart of Hindustan and when these new dynasties were quarrelling amongst themselves for personal glory, the new comer began to conquer them one after another. Probably the fall of the Parihārs caused the migration of the Gurjaras. So, Dr. Ganguly is quite justified in his suggestion.

Pulikeśin of Badami, dated 634 A.D., narrates that the king belonged to the Cālukya family and glorifies him for defeating the Gurjaras. This carefully distinguishes Pulikeśin and his family from the Gurjaras. Under this circumstance, the Cālukyas cannot be regarded as to have belonged to the Gurjara tribe."⁶¹

We have another record of much later date. Poet Rāṇṇa has described his patron Nurmādi Taila II, founder of the Chālukya dynasty of Kalyān, as "a fearful fever to the Ghūrjara."⁶² The court poet writes of his son Satyāśraya, "By order of king Taila, he, seated on an elephant, marched against the Ghūrjara army and defeated it. . . . With his one elephant he fought against the whole force of the Ghūrjara elephants and conquered it. He cut down the enemy (? the Ghūrjara king), who had taken a vow that he would not bathe until he had slain the foe (Satyāśraya), who had killed his dear younger brother."⁶³ Leaving aside the hyperbole of a court-poet, this is another example in favour of Dr. Ganguly's conclusion and we can safely conclude with him, "As a matter of fact there is no direct or indirect evidence to prove the Gurjara origin of the Chaulukyas."⁶⁴

We have another point of contemporary historical evidence which contradicts any foreign origin of the Chālukyas. The Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang visited the kingdom of Pulakeśi II. and tells about him, "He was a kshatriya by birth, and his name was *Pu-lo-ki-shê*."⁶⁵ That he did not make a mistake in his observations by

61 *IHQ.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 21-22.

62 *IA.*, Vol. XI, p. 43.

64 *IHQ.*, Vol. VIII, p. 21.

63 *Ibid.*, p. 42.

65 *Yu Ch.*, Vol. II, p. 239.

taking all kings to be Kshatriyas, can be proved by his remarks against others. Harshavardhana the paramount king of the north has been described as a Vaiśya.⁶⁶ He visited the kingdom of Sindh in 641 A.D. Rai Shahashi II. was then ruling. He belonged to the famous Rai dynasty,⁶⁷—the dynasty of Toramāṇa and Mihirkul who have been known to be of white Hūṇa origin. “The king, who was of the Sudra caste, was a sincere man and a believer in Buddhism.”⁶⁸ In the traveller’s own language, “the king was of the ‘Shu-to-lo’ race.”⁶⁹ General Cunningham remarks about it, “In September, 641, when Hwen Tshang was in Sindh, the king was a *Shu-to-lo*, or, as I have suggested, a *Fatulo* or *Ephthalite*, or perhaps the Chinese pilgrim looked upon him as a Sudra.”⁷⁰ He has described kings as Brāhmaṇas⁷¹ as well. About the pilgrim’s remarks on the king of *Pi-lo-mo-lo*,⁷² Dr. V. A. Smith, who has taken him to be a Gurjara king, observes, “Hiuen Tsang’s statement that the king of Bhilmāl in 641-2 was a Kṣatriya proves that as early as the seventh century the Gurjaras had been admitted into the scheme of Hindu polity as Kṣatriyas or Rājputs.”⁷³ But we have already shown from his observations, specially about Sindh, that the Chinese traveller knew who was who. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar⁷⁴ and Dr. R. C. Majumdar⁷⁵ identify *Pi-lo-mo-lo*, with a territory that represents modern Jodhpur

66 *Yu Ch.*, Vol. I. p. 343.

67 *N. Chron.*, 1894, pp. 252, 271-272.

68 *Yu Ch.*, Vol. II. p. 252.

69 Elliot, *HI.*, Vol. I. p. 410.

70 *N. Chron.*, 1894, p. 252.

71 *BRIT.*, Vol. II. p. 271.

72 *Yu Ch.*, Vol. II. p. 249.

73 *JRAS.*, 1909, p. 59.

74 *JBBRAS.*, Vol. XXI. pp. 415-418.

75 *JDL.*, Vol. X. pp. 9-10.

“over which Harichandra’s dynasty was ruling at the time of the pilgrim’s visit.”⁷⁶ If the identification is correct, and most probably it is, then we may point out in passing that the conclusion about the origin of the Parihārs is contradicted by the observation of the pilgrim.

Dr. D. C. Sircar, according to a suggestion from Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhury, says in connection with the Pallavas, “There is no evidence that kings belonging to foreign dynasties or tribes like the Śaka, Kuṣāṇa, Gurjara, Hūṇa and others ever performed the Horse-sacrifice, even when they were Hinduised. It seems highly improbable that a foreigner would be very favourable to the obnoxious practices followed during the course of this sacrifice.”⁷⁷ We know from the inscriptions of the Chālukyas that they performed this and other ‘out and out Brāhmanical sacrifices’ as early as the middle of the sixth century A.D.⁷⁸ and this also goes against any foreign origin of the Chālukyas.

The Gurjaras are said to be a Central Asiatic horde that poured into India “before the middle of the sixth century A.D.”⁷⁹ and might have imbibed the culture of the land within another two centuries. Now, supposing the Chālukyas to be the first immigrants, can a Central Asiatic nomad tribe who are said to have *conquered* the land be taught the intricate Brāhmanic rites of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā school such as *Aśvamedha* and others within such a short time : “*Agnisṭom-āgnichayana-vājapeya-bahusuvārṇa-*

76 *JDL.*, Vol. X. p. 9.

77 *The Early Pallavas*, p. 10.

78 *EL.*, Vol. XIX. p. 141; *IA.*, Vol. XIX, p. 17; *IA.*, Vol. VIII. pp. 77, 241; *IA.*, Vol. XL. p. 43.

79 *JDL.*, Vol. X. p. 5.

paundarik -āśvamedh -āvabhṛita(tha) snāna -punya -pavitrīkṛi(kṛi)ta-śa(r)īrah Hiranyagarbha-saṁbhūtaḥ vṛiddho-padeśagrāhī brahmanyas = satya-vāg = avisamvādakaḥ / |"⁸⁰

Is it possible that the extremely orthodox Brāhmaṇas of the Deccan should teach these exclusive Brāhmaṇic rites, not permitted to be performed by any one other than a 'Dvijia'* according to the *Sāstras*, to a Gurjara king of foreign barbarous origin? It is more natural to infer that when the Śakas, Kuśāṇas, Hūṇas and other nomadic barbarous tribes began to pour into India, the more orthodox class migrated to the south and settled there. It must be remembered that many of the savants of the post Buddhist Hindu renaissance were born in the Deccan. Kumārila Bhaṭṭa was most probably a Deccan Brāhmaṇa—at least he lived in the Deccan. Even Śaṅkarāchārya is of opinion⁸¹ that the Śūdras have no right to read the *Vedas* and much less to perform its rites,—what to speak of the nomad Asiatic tribes! Whatever might be the strength of the wonderful absorbing power of Hinduism, this is more improbable than probable.

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's remarks about the Chālukyas have been a series of self-contradictions. In one place, he says, "Solāṅkis and Paḍihārs we know for certain to be

80 *IA.*, Vol. XIX. p. 17.

* Some of the Brāhmaṇas went so far as to declare that even the Devas whom they worship have no right to the *Vedas* for they are like Śūdras, since they do not take sacred-thread. But Vādarāyaṇa (author of the *Vedānta Sūtra*) was kind enough to extend the right to them. See Śaṅkara's *Śārīraka Bhāṣhya* on the *Vedānta Sūtra* (1.3.26-38) and Vāchaspati Miśra's *Bhāmātī Tīkā* on it.

81 *Śaṅkara's Śārīraka Bhāṣhya* on the *Vedānta Sūtra*, (1.3 34-38).

of Gūjar origin.”⁸² In another place in the same paper, he says, “Like the Kadambas, as we shall see further on, the Chālukyas are represented as Hāritīputras, of the Mānavya *gotra* and as meditating on Shadānana and the seven Divine Mothers. This indicates their Brāhmaṇa, or rather priestly origin, though we cannot perhaps say that they and the Kadambas belonged to one tribe.”⁸³ But he has no doubt that they are intimately connected with each other, for, later on he says, “I have stated above that, like the Kadambas, the Chālukyas also are known as *Hāritīputras* and *Mānavya-sagotras*. They must have been somehow intimately connected with each other.”⁸⁴ About the Kadambas, he has no doubt that they were originally Brāhmaṇas,—“set beyond all doubt by the Tālgund inscription;”⁸⁵ again, “Be that as it may, the Brahmanic origin of the Kadambas remains indisputable.”⁸⁶ After this to hold with certainty that the Chālukyas are of Gurjara origin!!

His conclusion that the Chālukyas are of Gurjara origin has been strengthened by an evidence that they kept company with those who were held to be of Gurjara origin by him. He has traced the Chālukyas to Sapādalaksha⁸⁷ along with other Agnikulas and the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas—with whom the Maitrakas of Vallabhī are of the same ethnic stock and from whom the Gohilots are originated, as proved by him. He has then labelled all as Gurjaras. About the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas, and therefore the Gohilots, he has since changed his opinion, for he says, “Any how, it is pretty clear that the Nāgars are an ancient and

82 *IA.*, Vol. XL. p. 30.

84 *Ibid.*, p. 27.

86 *Ibid.*, p. 27.

83 *Ibid.*, p. 24.

85 *Ibid.*, p. 26.

87 *Ibid.*, p. 29.

erudite race indigenous to India and not of late foreign, barbarous origin as was thought twenty years ago.”⁸⁸ The Chauhāns⁸⁹ and Parihārs⁹⁰ have also been found to be of Brāhmaṇa origin. In the case of the Kadambas, the terms *Hārītiputra*, and *Mānavya gotra* have been enough for him to find them out as Brāhmaṇas: “The very fact that in their copper-plate inscriptions they are styled *Hārītiputras* and *Mānavya-sagotras* is enough to show that they were of Brāhmaṇa origin.” (*IA.*, vol. XL. p. 26). These terms are found in many of the Chālukya inscriptions as well. So he should include the Chālukyas likewise in his remarks stated above. Any how, leaving aside their own epigraphic evidence, which has already been pointed in Dr. Bhandarkar’s quotations, and which we shall discuss later on, it is beyond doubt that the Chālukyas are not of foreign barbarous origin.

There is a story about the origin of the Pushkara Tīrtha in the *Purāṇas*.⁹¹ It can be summarized as follows: Brahmā had no temple to be worshipped in; he wanted to have one. He asked his ‘*Lotus*’ to fall where there was no ‘*Kali*’ (Sin). It fell at Hāṭakeśvara and struck the earth at three places and water issued from them. He named the place ‘Pushkara’ after the *Lotus*. The Grandfather then wanted to perform a sacrifice (*yajña*) according to the Vedic rites, perhaps to make the place well known; and summoned the Devas, Ṛshis and of course the Brāhmaṇas and assigned their special duties. But the affair could not

88 *IA.*, Vol. LXI. p. 70.

89 *Origin of the Chauhāns* by the author to be published very soon.

90 Dr. D. C. Ganguly in *IHQ.*, Vol. X. pp. 337-343.

91 *Pad Pur Srk.*, Ch. 15-17; *Sk Pur Ngk.*, Ch. 179-193.

begin without the presence of his spouse Sāvitrī and Nārada was sent to fetch her. Now, the eternal quarrel-maker Nārada wanted to get up a quarrel between the husband and wife. Not only he went slowly, but while asking her to accompany him to the place of the sacrifice, he subtly added that it would look very odd on her part to go there alone where her great husband was surrounded by the Devas, Ṛshis and the Brāhmaṇas. The advice bore fruit and he returned alone. He told Brahmā that she refused to come alone without being accompanied by Lakshmi, Pārvatī, Indrānī and other celestial ladies. But the delay was awful, and the auspicious time was about to pass off. So Brahmā called upon Indra to bring him a maiden who could serve the purpose. He found a "Gopa" maiden of matchless beauty nearby, threw off her pots, caught hold of her, passed her through a cow for purification and brought her to him. The Grandfather took her as wife, named her 'Gāyatrī' and finished the affair with her help. Sāvitrī of course came though late, about a week after, surrounded by the celestial ladies, and when she found a "Gopa" maiden by the side of her husband, she flew into rage :

*"Na tulyā pādarajasā mamaishā yā śīraḥkṛtā,
 Pitāmaho'si devānāmṛshīnām prapitāmahaḥ/
 Kathaṁ na te trapā jātā ātmanaḥ paśyatastanuṁ ||
 Lokamadhye kṛtaṁ hāsyamahañchāpakṛto prabho/
 Yadyesha te sthīro bhāvastistha deva namo'stute ||
 Ahaṁ kathaṁ sakhīnantu darśayiṣyāmi vai mukhaṁ/
 Bhartrā me vidhṛtā patnī kathametadahaṁ vade ||"⁹²*

The Grandfather no doubt suitably apologised :

*Sakrenaishā samānītā datts'yaṃ mama Viṣṇunā/
Gṛhitā cha mayā subhru kṣamasvairiṃ mayā kṛtaṃ//
Na chāparādhaṃ bhūyo'nyaṃ kariṣye tava suvrate/
Pādayoḥ patitaste'haṃ kṣamasveha namo'stu te//*⁹³

Gauri gave her some consolation :

*Ayaṃ kalipriyo devi vrute satyānṛtaṃ vachah/
Anena karmaṇā prāṇān vibharttyeṣa sadā munih//
Ahaṃ Tryakṣeṇa Sāvitrī purā proktā muhurmuḥuḥ/
Nāradasya munervākyaṃ na śraddheyaṃ trayā priye/
Yadi vāñchhasi saukhyāni mama jātāni Pārvati//
Tataḥprabhṛti naivāhaṃ śraddadhe'sya vachah kvachit/
Sk. Pur Ngk., Ch. 192. VV. 19-21.*

But the Granny felt awfully insulted and cursed them all. She left the place and retired to a mountain nearby where her temple is to be found.*

Now, the zeal to prove the Gurjara origin of the Rāj-puts went so far that the supporters of this theory took Gāyatrī for a Gurjara maiden of foreign origin.⁹⁴ But the story is found in more than one *Purāṇa* and every where she is "*Gopakanyā*" :

93 *Pad Pur Srk.*, Ch. 17, VV. 142-143.

* This of course is a story. In fact Gāyatrī, as we shall presently see, is a *mantra*. This *mantra* is Sāvitrī, because it is a prayer to God in His form *Savitā* (Sun); she is Gāyatrī for it is composed in the *Gāyatrī Chhandah*. According to the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* (Ch. 35-36) she is Gāyatrī in the morning, Sāvitrī at noon and Sarasvatī in the evening. For the identification of Sāvitrī with Gāyatrī, see Dr. Macdonell, *A history of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 79.

94 *BG.*, Vol. IX. p. 502.

Gopakanyā tvahaṃ vīra vikrīṇāmīha gorasaṃ /
Navanītamidaṃ śuddhaṃ dadhi chedaṃ vimaṇḍakaṃ /
Dadhṇā chaivātra takreṇa rasenāpi parantapa /
Arthī yenāsi tadbruhi pragṛhṇīshva yathepsitaṃ /
Pad Pur Srk., Ch. 16. vv. 156-157.

Gopakanyāsmi bhaḍraṃ te takraṃ vikretumāgatā /
Yadi gṛhṇāsi me mulyaṃ tachchhīghraṃ dehi mā
chiraṃ /
Sk Pur Ngk., Ch. 181. v. 60.

The curse, "May this altar be you Gujars' burning-place"⁹⁵ is not there nor in the *Rajputana Gazetteer* Vol. II. pp. 67-69. Nay the term "*Gujar*" is not to be found in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* though the term Hūṇa is there. So it seems to be a got up affair by the interested persons connected with the *Tīrtha*. It is a belief of the Hindus that they can go straight to heaven if their bodies are burnt in a sacred place (*Tīrtha*) or by the Ganges. No wonder then that the Gujars who form the general mass of the population of the locality should bring in the dead bodies of their relatives to such a *Tīrtha* of name and fame and try to send them straight to heaven.

The *Padma* and *Skanda Purāṇas* describe her as an 'Ābhīra' (*Ābhīrakanyā*)⁹⁶ as well. But this allusion is either a wrong statement or an interpolation (*Prakshipta*). For it also prophesies that Śrī Kṛṣṇa would be born to them.⁹⁷ He has also been called Yādava there.⁹⁸ This is

95 *BG.*, Vol. IX. p. 502.

96 *Pad Pur Srk.*, Ch. 16. V. 131; *Sk Pur Ngk.*, Ch. 192. V. 80.

97 *Pad Pur Srk.*, Ch. 17. VV. 16-20.

98 *Ibid.*, Ch. 13.

self-contradictory. It is true that he is said to have spent his childhood amongst the "Gopas" in the house of a Gopa chieftain named Nanda Ghosha in disguise out of fear of his maternal uncle Kamsa.⁹⁹ The episode is just like that of Christ and Herod. But the Gopas and Ābhīras are not the same people. The latter lived near the mouth of the Indus at the time of the *Mahābhārata* and were conquered by Nakula at the time of Yudhiṣṭhira's *Rājasuyayajña*.¹⁰⁰ It was these people that carried away the Yādava women when they were being escorted by Arjuna after the death of Śrī Kṛishṇa.¹⁰¹ Their mention is found in many places, not only in the *Maushalaparva* which Dr. Bhandarkar has stated.¹⁰² At the time of the *Mahābhārata* they were not even milkmen but fishermen. Taking the conclusion of Dr. Bhandarkar¹⁰³ that the Ābhīras are a foreign tribe and are Scythians and the *Maushalaparva* was written during the first century A.D., the statement of the *Mahābhārata*, that indicates them to be quite separate from the Gopas of Br̥ndāvana, if the fiction has any fact behind it, can not be denied. *Vishṇu Purāṇa*¹⁰⁴ also testifies it. There is no evidence to show that the Ābhīras are Gurjaras. If the Ābhīras and the Gopas of Br̥ndāvana are the same people, they cannot be Gurjaras.

But Gāyatrī is a Vedic goddess. She has gone through a process of metamorphosis in her evolution in the

99 *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Sk., X. Ch. 3 et. seq.

100 *Mbh.*, *Sabhāparva*, Ch. 31.

101 *Mbh.*, *Maushalaparva*, Ch. 7-8.

102 *JBBRAS.*, Vol. XXI. p. 431.

103 *Ibid.*, pp. 430-432.

104 *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, Pt. V. Ch. 38.

Vedic literature. She is the first of all metres (*Chhandah*).¹⁰⁵ Many Vedic Hymns are composed in the *Gāyatrī Chhandah*. In the *Bhāgavadgītā*, she is the best of all metres : “*Gāyatrī Chchhandasāmahaṃ*,” (Canto X. v. 35). As such, she has three feet¹⁰⁶ (four according to the *Ch Up.*, 3. 12. 5.) and should have consisted of twenty-four letters. But later on she became identified with a particular *mantra* composed in this *Chhandah*.¹⁰⁷ Then she is the earth, *Prāṇa* and everything that exists in the universe.¹⁰⁸ She brings *Soma* (= *Amṛta* = that which makes one immortal = *Brahmajñāna*) to the *Sādhaka* (devotee);¹⁰⁹ hence her excellence. There is a story in the *Vedas* in this connection. From all sources it is as follows :

Sōma was high above in the third sky (*Tritīyasyāmito-divi Soma āsit*),¹¹⁰ in between two golden sharp edged envelopes which remain always closed; one of them is initiation (*dīkshā*) while the other is regular methodical practice with one mind (*Tapasau*). He is vigilently guarded by the Gandharvas, His wardens (*Hiraṇmayyorha kuśyorantara-vahita āsa/ Te ha sma kshurapavī nimeshaṃ nimesham abhisandhatto dīkshātapasau haiva te āsatusta mete Gandharvāḥ Somarakshā jugupurime dhishṇyā imā*

105 *Aitāreya Āraṇyaka*, Dr. Keith's Ed., pp. 93, 187, (1. 4. 1. 4); *SBE.*, Vol. I. p. 187. I have consulted *SBE.* more often than I have cited in this chapter.

106 *Sp Br.*, Dr. Weber's Ed., p. 837, (11. 2. 2. 1); *SBE.*, Vol. XLIV. p. 26.

107 *RgV.*, Vol. II, p. 993, (3. 62. 10); *SmV.*, Vol. IV. p. 537. (6. 3. 10. 1); *YjV.*, *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*, Vol. I. p. 45 (3. 35); Vol. II. p. 396, (22. 9).

108 *Ch Up.*, (3. 12).

109 *Sp Br.*, Vol. III. p. 363, (3. 6. 2).

110 *T Br.*, Vol. I. p. 8, (1. 1. 3. 10).

hotrāḥ/ /)¹¹¹ at the command of 'Kṛshānu'. Gāyatrī takes the form of a golden brilliant winged (*harīṇaḥ*)¹¹² falcon and goes to bring Soma (*Gāyatrī syeno bhūtvā divaḥ Soma māharat*)¹¹³ by her own strength (*tadvīryeṇa*).¹¹⁴ She tears off the first envelope and gives them to the Devas and they become initiated (*Tayoranyatarāṇi kuśi māchichchheda/ Tāṇi Devebhyaḥ pradadau sū dikshā tayā Devā adīkshanta*).¹¹⁵ She then tears off the second envelope and gives it to the Devas and they practise accordingly (*Atha dvitīyāṇi kuśi māchichchheda/ Tāṇi Devebhyaḥ pradadau tattapastayā Devāstapa upāyannupasadastapo hyupasadaḥ/ /*).¹¹⁶

She then secures a *Khadira* stick and with its help takes possession of Soma (*Khadireṇa ha Soma māchakhāda/*).¹¹⁷ Kṛshānu shoots an arrow at her (*Sṛjat=yat=asmai=eba=ha=kshipat=jyāṇi=Kṛshānuḥ=ashmā=manasū=bhuranyan/ /*)¹¹⁸ and as a result, one of her feathers falls down on the earth and becomes the *Palāśa* tree (*tasya-parṇamachchhidyata; tatparṇo'bhabat/ tat parṇasya parṇatvam/*)¹¹⁹ (*Parṇa=Palāśa*, Butea Frondosa); Soma is stolen by Viśvāvasu the Gandharva (*tasyā'āharantyai Gandharvo Viśvāvasuḥ paryamushṇātte*).¹²⁰ Now, the Devas finding that Soma has been stolen by the Gandharvas and

111 *Sp Br.*, Vol. III. p. 363, (3. 6. 2. 9).

112 *Sp Br.*, Dr. Weber's Ed., p. 850, (11. 4. 1. 16).

113 *Sp Br.*, Vol. III. p. 211, (3. 4. 1. 12).

114 *Ibid.*

115 *Ibid.*, p. 363, (3. 6. 2. 10).

116 *Ibid.*, (3. 6. 2. 11).

117 *Ibid.*, (3. 6. 2. 12).

118 *Rg V.*, Vol. III. p. 143, (4. 273).

119 *T Br.*, Vol. I. p. 8, (1. 1. 3. 10).

120 *Sp Br.*, Vol. III. p. 119, (3. 2. 4. 2).

owing that they are fond of women (*Yoshitkāmā vai indharvāḥ*),¹²¹ sends the beautiful lady *Vāk* (speech) to them and she returns to the Devas with Soma. They follow her and it is settled that the Devas should get Soma and the Gandharvas the woman. . . . The initiated should vigilantly watch the King (Soma) lest the Gandharvas should carry Him off; and from whomsoever charge He (Soma) is carried off, he is excluded from Soma (*Tasmād kṣhitā Rājānaṃ gopāyanti/ Nenno'paharāniti tasmāttra suguptaṃ chikīrshedyasya ha gopānāyāmapahanti hīyate ha/*).¹²² This falcon (*Śyena*) is the 'Garuḍa' of the later mythology of the *Mahābhārata* and the *urāṇas* over whom Śrī Kṛṣṇa rides.

In the *Aitareya Aranyaka*,¹²³ *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*,¹²⁴ *Chāndogya Upanishad*,¹²⁵ *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad*¹²⁶ and the *Vedānta Sūtra*,¹²⁷ Gāyatrī is identified with the preme Brahman Himself.

How great is the cultural importance of Gāyatrī to a Hindu! To him nothing is more precious than conquering one's self and the knowledge of the Supreme:

*Te hi dhīrāḥ surājāno dasāsvāsu jayanti ye/
Trṇāyate'tra digdanti ghatābhata parājayaḥ/*¹²⁸

21 *Ibid.*, (3. 2. 4. 3).

22 *Ibid.*, p. 364, (3. 6. 2. 14).

23 *Aitareya Aranyaka*, Dr. Keith's Ed., pp. 77, 163, (1. 1. 1. 14); 79, 167, (1. 1. 3. 3-4); pp. 97, 193, (1. 5. 1. 10).

24 *Sp Br.*, Dr. Weber's Ed., p. 999, (13. 6. 2. 7).

25 *Ch Up.*, (3. 12).

26 *Br Up.*, (5. 14).

27 *Vedānta Sūtra*, (1. 1. 25-26).

28 *Yoga Vāsīṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa*, *Utpattiprakaraṇa*, Ch. 118. V. 29.

It is his firm conviction that the knowledge of the Supreme is by far above everything and that the whole world surrounded by the oceans with all the sources of enjoyment in it sinks into nothingness in comparison with the knowledge of the Supreme : *Nānyasmyai kasmaichana yadyapyasmā imāmadviḥ parigrhitāṃ dhanasya pūrṇāṃ dadyāt etadeva tato bhūya ityetadeva tato bhūya iti* / ¹²⁹ (*Madhuvidyā* is also *Brahma-vidyā*. Sun has been thought as *Madhu*). He holds *Gāyatrī* to be of foremost importance for this purpose : *Somāharaṇāt itarachchhando'ksharāharaṇena itarachchhandovyāptyā cha sarvasavanavyāpakatvāchcha yajñe prādhānyam Gāyatrīyāḥ* / *Gāyatrīsāratvāchcha brāhmaṇasya mātaramiva, hitvā gurutarāṇi Gāyatrīm tato'nyad gurutarāṇa pratipadyate yothoktaṃ Brahmāpiti, tasyāmatyantagauravasya prasiddhatvāt* / *Tāto Gāyatrīmukhe naiva Brahmochyate* / ¹³⁰

The story of the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* is a parable. Soma is of course the Supreme Brahman. He is above all cosmic knowledge enveloped in *dīkshā* and *tapasyā*. Gandharvas are spirits fond of woman with extensive love life. *Krshānu* is a name of *Agni*. The feather that falls down is, "*Oṃ*". Though the *Chhanda Gāyatrī* is to contain twenty-four letters, the *mantra Gāyatrī* is in fact one word less. The grammarians (e.g., *Piṅgalāchārya* and *Halāyudha Bhaṭṭa*) want to correct it by turning "*Vareṇyam*" into "*Vareṇiyam*". But in practice, the gap is filled up at the time of initiation by the *Guru* (Preceptor) to the disciple

129 *Ch Up.*, (3. 11. 6).

130 *Ibid.*, (3. 12), Introduction of *Samkhara Bhāshya*.

with the word “*Om*”, and the *mantra* is also chanted in that way :

*Ādyante praṇavam datvā prajāpedaniṣaṃ dvijaḥ/
Chaturviṃśākṣharī vidyā paratatvavinirmītā/*¹³¹

But none can fix this feather (letter) “*Om*” who has not complete self-control and who does not know the inner meaning of *Praṇava* :

*Satyena labhyastapasā hyeṣha Ātmā
Samyagjñānena brahmacharyeṇa nityaṃ/
Antaḥśarīre jyotirmayo hi śubhro
Yaṃ paśyanti yatayaḥ kṣhīṇadoshāḥ/*¹³²

When the new devotee makes his prayer with *Gāyatrī*, after some time, when she is about to listen to her *sādhaka* (devotee) *Kṛṣṇānu* makes this fire-test with the arrow of a woman. The young devotee generally fails, her feather “*Om*” falls down and *Soma* is carried away by the *Gandharvas*, who are so fond of woman. The feather falls on the ground and becomes the *Palāśa* tree on which blossoms the crescent (*Bindu*) shaped, *Gairik* coloured, odourless (*nirgandha*=*nirguṇa*) *Palāśa* flower. But when the *sādhaka* can stand this test, *Gāyatrī* does not lose her feather and she comes to the devotee with *Soma*. He also in time becomes identified with *Him* : *Tadyoyo Devānāṃ pratyavudhyata, sa eva tadabhavat.*¹³³

Viśvāmitra is the *Ṛshi* of this *mantra*, that is to say, he was the first to attain salvation with her help. We have seen (pp. 14-15) that after his defeat in the hands of *Vaśiṣṭha* he understood the greater powers of a *Brāhmaṇa* and gave

131 *Gāyatrī Tantra*.

132 *Muṇḍakopaniṣad*, (3. 1. 5).

133 *Br Up.*, (1. 4. 10).

up the life of a Kshatriya to attain the other one. This *mantra* gave him what he desired.¹³⁴ The parable of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* is illustrated in his life. How he was refused the Brāhmaṇahood by Vasiṣṭha in the first part of his austere penance and how he was overpowered by Menakā the celestial *Apsarā*, and succumbed to her is a well known story. The famous queen Śakuntalā was the result of this union.¹³⁵ But soon he came to his senses and left the place to practise Brahmacharya: “*Sa kṛtvā naisthikīm buddhiṃ jetukāmo mahāyaśāḥ*”¹³⁶ He began to practise austere penance again. Brahmā appeared and addressed him as *Maharshi* and not *Brahmarshi*. He was again disappointed and said:

Yadi me bhagavānnāha tato'haṃ vijitendriyaḥ/

and Brahmā replied,

Tamuvācha tato Brahmā 'na tāvattvaṃ jītenndriyaḥ/ |¹³⁷

But at last he succeeded and when Rambhā came to tempt him again, he was above temptation, and was recognised as a Brāhmaṇa by Vasiṣṭha and the Devas as well.¹³⁸ Thenceforth every twice born (*Dvija*) is initiated with this *mantra* at the time of his taking the sacred thread (*Upanayana Saṃskāra*). Every Hindu, before his initiation, is considered as a *Sūdra*, but when he is initiated with the Gāyatrī, he becomes a *Dvija* (twice born). Such is her excellence in the eyes of the Hindus.

134 *Sk. Pur Kāśī Kh.*, Ch. 9. V. 55.

135 *Mbh.*, *Adiparva*, Ch. 72.

136 *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bālakāṇḍa*, Ch. 63, V. 14.

137 *Ibid.*, V. 21.

138 *Ibid.*, Ch. 65. VV. 25-26.

Her person has been described as :

*“Chaturbhujām śaśikalām jatājūtāsamanvitām /
RkSāmaYajurāsīnām prafullapañkajekshaṇām / /
Pañchāśadvārṇagrathitām nālādyotitahṛtsthalām /
Anekavarṇanīrmāṇakanṭhadeśavirājītām /
Divyagandhapraliptaṅgīm śuklavastraparichchhadām /
Śuklapadmasamāsīnām śuklavastrottariṇīm /”*¹³⁹

Some chant the *mantra* by prefixing and suffixing it simply with “Om” while others add a *vyārhti*. According to Yājñavalkya, it is “*Bhūrbhuvahṣvaḥ*,” while with others, it is “*Bhūrbhuvahṣvaḥ mahahṣ janahṣ tapahṣ satyam* /”. “Om” is to be prefixed to every one of them. What is the famous *mantra*? It is :

*Om / Tat Saviturvareṇyam
Bhargodevasya dhīmahi
Dhiyo yo naḥ prachodayāt / Om /*¹⁴⁰

It is a prayer to Brahman in His form *Savitā* (Sun). We have a similar passage in an *Upanishad* where it is more clearly stated :

*Hiraṇmayena pātreṇa satyasyāpihitam mukham /
Tat tvam pūshannapāvṛṇu satyadharmāya dṛṣṭaye / /
Pūshannekarshe yama sūrya prājāpatya
Vyūha raśmīn samūha teyo /
Yat te rūpam kalyāṇatamam tatte paśyāmi,
Yo’sāvasau puruṣaḥ so’hamasmi /*¹⁴¹

From the *Vedas* to the *Purāṇas*, all praise Gāyatrī with hearty eloquence. The *Upanishads*, *Brahmasūtra*, *Brāh-*

139 *Gāyatrī Tantra*.

140 *Ibid.*, See also fn. 107. ‘yo’ is pronounced as ‘iyo’.

141 *Isopanishad*, VV. 15-16.

maṇas, *Manu*, *Samvarta*, *Parāśara*, *Uśanā*, *Śaṅkha*, *Śaṅkarāchārya*, all testify to the excellence of *Gāyatrī*. According to *Parāśara*, a *Brāhmaṇa* without *Gāyatrī* is like a *Śudra*: "*Gāyatrī rahito vipraḥ Śudrādapyāśuchir bhavet* (18.31). But the *Skanda Purāṇa*, *Kāśī Khaṇḍa* (Ch. 9) has surpassed all in praising *Gāyatrī*. According to this book, *Gāyatrī* excels all branches of knowledge,—even the *Vedas* and the *Upanishads*. She is the mother of the *Vedas*. A *Brāhmaṇa* is no *Brāhmaṇa* if he does not know *Gāyatrī* though he may be well-versed in the *Vedas* (V. 57):

*Na brāhmaṇo Vedapāṭhānna śūstrapaṭhanādapi/
Devyāstrikālamabhyāsādbrāhmaṇaḥ syāddhī nānyathā||*

In the *Śāstras* the *Palāśa* has been identified with the Supreme Brahman (*Brahma vai Palāśo Brahmanāivaina metat samindhe yadveva Pālāśyaḥ Somo vai Palāśa esho ha paramāhutiryaṭ Somāhutistā masminnetajjuhōti tayai-nametat prīṇāti|* /).¹⁴²

No wonder that a *Palāśa* twig is required at the time of *Upanayana-Saṃskāra* (ceremony of taking the sacred thread by the upper castes).

The *Palāśa* flower is essential for the worship of *Sarasvatī* (Goddess of learning). The *Pujā* takes place in the month of *Māgha* (Jan.-Feb.) on the *Śrīpañchamī tithi* when this flower blossoms. Some times it happens that the *Tithi* has fallen earlier than it is time for this plant to flower. Every body who has come in contact with the life of the Hindu students in Bengal specially knows fully well how they are all out and will search up hill and down dale for a single flower that might have blossomed earlier. What

142 *Sp Br.*, Vol. VI. pp. 339-340, (6. 6. 3. 7.); see also Vol. I. p. 219. (1. 3. 3. 19).

is the significance underlying the worship with this flower? The flower represents that feather (*Om*) of Gāyatrī whose knowledge alone can give the young student the knowledge of everything according to the Hindu notion : *Kasmīnnu bhagavo viññāte sarvamidam viññātam bhavatīti* /¹¹³ Hence the importance of this flower.

Such is Gāyatrī to a Hindu and she is as old as the Hindu civilisation. She is a daughter of the Kātyāyana family (*Kātyāyanasagotrajā*) according to the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* (Ch. 35. V. 2). This new Granny of the Hindus, who seems to be ever-green, is in fact older than Brahmā himself. But she has been taken for a Gurjara maiden of foreign origin by the historians, and for a *Gopakanyā* by the authors of some *Purāṇas*! Poor Gāyatrī!!

IV

Dr. P. C. Bagchi traces the origin of the Chālukyas in a different way.¹⁴⁴ His views may be summarized as follows :

M. Lacote in his *Essai sur Guṇāḍhya* (p. 56) connects the word *Chūlikā* with Pali *Chulla* derived from *Kṣudra*, and explains *Chūlikā-Paiśāchī* as 'low-paiśācī' ('basse paiśācī'). But in that case, one would expect *Chullikā* rather than *Chūlikā*. Moreover, it does not offer a suitable explanation regarding the attribute of a language. "Lacote's explanation therefore does not seem to be satisfactory." (p. 1).

M. Lacote has summarized all that is known about *Chūlikā-Paiśāchī*. Hemachandra and Trivikrama mention it as a variety of *Paiśāchī*. Mārkaṇḍeya Kavindra

143 *Muṇḍakopaniṣad*, (1. 1. 3).

144 *JDL.*, Vol. XXI. Art. *Sulika, Cūlika and Cūlikā-Paiśācī*.

mentions three : Kaikeya, Śaurasena and Pāñchāla. These are really *Prakrits*. An unknown author mentions eight : Kāñchi-deśiya, Pāṇḍya, Māgadha, Gauḍa, Vṛachāḍa, Dākṣiṇātya, Śābara, and Drāviḍa. These are *deśābhāṣās*. Lakṣmīdhara's list, probably based on earlier sources contains : Pāṇḍya, Kekaya, Bāhlika, Sahya (properly Siṃha), Nepāla, Kuṇṭala, and Gāndhāra. Of these, those of the north-west, Kaikeya (the Western Punjab), Bāhlika (Balkh), Gāndhāra (Peshawar), and Vṛachāḍa (Sindh) might really have represented varieties of *Paiśāchi*. These names are of geographical import. Therefore it is natural to expect that *Chūlikā-Paiśāchi* had a similar significance.

Mr. Pargiter¹⁴⁵ connects the word *Chūlika* with a people of the same name. He proves from the *Mahābhārata* and different *Purāṇas*, the presence of a people designated under different names of which *Sūlika* and *Chūlika* are most frequent. But he did not trace the real existence of such a people. They appear under the following different forms : *Chulika*, *Chūlika*, *Chūḍika*, *Sūlika* *Sūlika* and *Jhillika*(?) of which *Chūlika* and *Sūlika* are most frequent. "Both of them appear as the variants of the same name and both are located in the same region, either the north or the north-west." (pp. 2-3).

M. Gauthiot¹⁴⁶ has discussed about the *Sūlikas* from other texts in which they are mentioned along with the Tukhāra, Yavana, Pahlava, China, etc. Their country is said to be watered by the river Chakṣu (Vakṣu, the Oxus). *Bṛhat Samhitā* mentions them six times. The Tibetan sources mention them as *Sūlik*. The Chinese name of the

145 *JRAS.*, 1912, pp. 711-712.

146 *Journal Asiatique*, 1910. pp. 541-542.

country is *Su-li*. M. Gauthiot has established the identity of *Śūlika* with Sogdiana. During the eighth century the Chinese used the word *Hou* (barbarians) to mean the Sogdians only. The name being foreign was perhaps heard and transcribed in Sanskrit in different ways. "The alternance s : ś : c : is not unknown in such cases." "Therefore it seems evident that the Sogdian name *Sulik*, *Śulik*, could be transcribed as *Śulika-Śūlika* and sometimes as *Culika-Cūlika*. The alternance recorded by the Purāṇas thus receives justification." (p. 4).

The Sogdians perhaps appeared in India along with their neighbours the Tukhāras, the Pahlavas, the Yavanas, etc. The *Purāṇas* attribute to them a certain political ascendancy in India but there is no distinct proof in its support. We meet with an agricultural clan of the *Rājputs* in the Punjab known as the *Sulki*.¹⁴⁷

There is a clan of the Agnikula *Rājputs* who are connected with the Gujārs (Gurjaras)—a Scythic people who probably followed the Hūṇas in India. They are the Chālukyas. The story of their origin is quite legendary in nature. One of these legends recorded in a late inscription of the Chālukyas would have us believe that they were born of the *Chulka*, the water-pot (*Kamaṇḍalu*) of Hārīti-Pañchaśikha. The Sanskrit lexicons give the form *Chaluka* and *Chuluka* instead of *Chulka*. *Chālukya* is not the only form of their name.

Dr. Fleet has collected the other forms of the name. The oldest is *Chalkya* (578 A.D.), then come

147 Mr. Rose—*A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, 1914. Vol. III. p. 435.

Chalikya (602 A.D.), *Chalukya* (634-'35 A.D.), *Chalukki* or *Chalukika* and *Chālukya*. All these forms seem to have evolved from *Chalkya*. The Chaulukya dynasty of Aṇahilapāṭaka was in all probability related to the Chālukyas. They are commonly known as *Solaki* or *Solaṅki* which is supposed to be a dialectic variant of *Chaulukya*. "All these different names seem to fall back on *Chalkya* and *Solka* which may be connected with *Sulki-Solgi-Solkah* of the Punjab and ultimately with *Cūlika-Śūlika*. It would be remembered that amongst the different forms of the last two names, already mentioned, we come across with *Calik(y)a* and *Śaulika*" (p. 7).

Dr. Bagchi has ably put his arguments in favour of his conclusion about the meaning of the word *Chūlikā-Paiśāchī*. But some observations may be made in favour of M. Lacote. Thus, the word *Chūlika* instead of being derived from Pali *Chulla*, may be the Sanskrit word *Chūlika*. The literal meaning of the word is sharp, pointed—*Tīkṣṇa*, *Sukṣma*. Prof. Wilson's dictionary shows that the term in literature means part of a drama and the inferior persons of a drama collectively. M. Lacote observes that the language *Chūlikā-Paiśāchī* was particularly denounced as vulgar and was not spoken by gentlemen (Or, c'est la *Cūlikā-Paiśācī* qui est particulièrement dénoncée comme vulgaire;).¹⁴⁸ Mr. Vaidya informs us: "The rules of Sanskrit dramaturgy require that certain characters should speak certain Prakrits. For poetry and higher thought, Mahārāstri is prescribed and for ordinary speech of women and other characters Śauraseni. For servants Māgadhi is to

148 M. Lacôte, *Essai Sur Guṇādhyā et la Brhatkathā*, p. 56.

be used and for ruffians etc., the Paisāchi.”¹⁴⁹ In that case, the language may mean the language of the wild vulgar people, and the name *Chūlikā-Paisāchī*, first being used in connection with Sanskrit drama, perhaps came into general use to mean the spoken language of the barbarous vulgar people. The feminine suffix of the word *Chūlikā* points to a Sanskrit origin and it is probable that the origin of the name is there. The lists of the authors who mention where the Paisāchī languages were spoken, do not mention *Chūlika* in the lists. Four countries of the lists are in the north-west whose particular laws of variation have not been defined. So, the omission of a fifth one, whose laws have been defined, arouses suspicion. The original name of the people is undoubtedly *Sūlika*; but in whatever form their name has been transcribed, their country has been mentioned as *Sūlika*,¹⁵⁰ and the modern form of the word *Sulki* is in all probability derived from the word *Sūlika*. So the name of the language should have been *Sūlikā-paisāchī* according to Dr. Bagchi. With these observations we leave the decision with the competent authorities.

There is no doubt that the terms *Chūlika* and *Sūlika* of the Sanskrit texts mean a people. The term *Sūlika* sometimes means a country. The identity of the terms shown by Mr. Pargiter and supported by Dr. Bagchi is highly reasonable. About the history of the *Sūlikas* we

149 *HMHI.*, Vol. II. pp. 169-170. Dr. Macdonnel's statement (*A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 349) differs to some extent in detail. But see Lakṣmidhara, *Ṣaḍbhāṣā Chandrikā, prārambhaḥ*, VV. 32-38. *Rakṣa-piśācha-nīcheṣu paisāchīdvitayam bhavet* || V. 35.

150 *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Ch. 57. V. 41; Varāhamihira—*Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, Ch. 14. V. 23; Ch. 10. V. 7.

certainly have some information. Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhury¹⁵¹ informs us that Kumāra Gupta III. had to encounter a sea of troubles from the Gaudas, Andhras and the Śūlikas "who had an army of countless galloping horses." The Haraha inscription¹⁵² says that the Maukhari King Isāna Varman vanquished in battle the Śūlikas "who had an army of countless galloping horses." The *Purāṇas* which ascribe political power to the *Chūlikas* also mention the Guptas as kings of India.¹⁵³

These Śūlikas have been identified with the Śulkis. We have seen that Dr. Bagchi has identified the Śulkis of the Punjab with the Śūlikas of the Sanskrit literature. Prof. R. D. Banerjee identifies the Śūlikas of the Haraha inscription with the Śulkis of Orissa.¹⁵⁴ Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhury also suggests to the same effect.¹⁵⁵ This is quite probable. Perhaps the name Śūlika has changed into Śūlki. The historical evidence also supports such an identification. We have seen that in both the places mentioning the Śūlikas, they have been placed near Gauda and Andhra. This points to Orissa. Varāhamihira has been found to have been living during the first half of the sixth century.¹⁵⁶ So the statement of *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* may be taken as contemporary evidence. He places the Śūlika country not only in the north-west but also in the south-east : (14, 8) :

151 Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhury, *Political History of Ancient India*, 3rd Ed. p. 405.

152 *EI.*, Vol. XIV. pp. 110-120.

153 Mr. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 53, 73. Introduction, pp. XII, XIII, XXIV, XXV.

154 Prof. R. D. Banerjee, *History of Orissa*. Vol. I. p. 191.

155 *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 405. fn. 5.

156 *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* (*Bib. Ind.*), Edited by Dr. Kern. Introduction.

*Āgneyyāṇ diśi Kośala—
 Kalīṅgavaṅgopavaṅgajāṭharāṅgāḥ/
 Śaulikavidarbhavatsāndhra—
 Chedikāśchordhvakanṭhāścha||*

He also places their country along with Bāhlik, China and Gāndhāra in the north-west (10, 7; 14, 23). So during the first half of the sixth century, they not only lived in the north-west but also had a colony in Orissa. Śukulideśa¹⁵⁷ of the Guptas may be the land of the Śūlikas.

Authorities differ about the identification of the Śūlkis with the Chālukyas. Mr. M. M. Chakravarty, who brought the existence of the Śūlkis to the notice of the historians by publishing the Puri inscriptions¹⁵⁸—two in number, is definitely of opinion that the Śūlkis “cannot but be the Cālukya line.” He connects them with the Eastern Chālukyas. He deciphers the figure on the insignia as that of a boar—the emblem of the Chālukyas, (or a bull) and places Kulastambha Deva before the eleventh century A.D. Mr. N. N. Vasu published the Talcher inscription¹⁵⁹ of Kulastambha Deva. He also identifies the Śūlkis with the Eastern Chālukyas and the figure on the seal as that of a boar. Mahamahopādhyāya Dr. Hara Prasad Sastri has edited five inscriptions¹⁶⁰ of this dynasty,—one of Raṇastambha Deva, one of Kulastambha Deva and the rest of Jayastambha Deva. The impression on the seal of the first one is no longer legible. The second one, that of Kulastambha Deva, contains the figure of a deer couchant;

157 *Political History of Ancient India*. p. 381.

158 *JASB.*, Vol. LXIV. Pt. I. pp. 123-127.

159 *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, Vol. XVIII. pp. 59-63.

160 *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. II. pp. 395-417.

that of the third one is vacant, the seal of the fourth one bears the figure of a bull couchant, that of the fifth one is not legible. The editor makes no observation about the identity of the Śūlkis. Prof. R. D. Banerjee has re-edited the Talcher grant¹⁶¹ and reads the figure of the seal as that of "a deer couchant, with a bough or some foliage in its mouth and a crescent and a conch over its back."

Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhury suggests, "The Śūlikas were probably the Chalukyas. In the Mahākuṭā pillar inscription, the name appears as Chalikya. In the Gujarāt records we find the forms Solaki and Solāṅki. Śūlika may be another dialectic variant. The Mahākuṭā pillar inscription tells us that in the sixth century A.D., Kīrtivarman I. of the "Chalikya" dynasty gained victories over the kings of Vaṅga, Aṅga Magadha etc."¹⁶²

Mr. B. C. Majumdar doubts such an identification. (*JPASBNS.*, vol. VII. p. 447). Prof. R. D. Banerjee also later ceased to believe such a possibility: "At one time I supposed that the term Śulki was a modern corruption of Śolāṅki, i.e., Chālukya or Chaulukya of the inscriptions, but the discovery of the Haraha inscription of the Maukharī Iśānavarman of v.s. 611—554 (A.D.) has placed the Śūlkis in a different position. We learn from the 13th verse of this record that:

"Who being victorious and having princes bending at his feet, occupied the throne after conquering the lord of the Andhras, who had thousands of threefold rutting elephants, after vanquishing in battle the Śūlikas who had an army of countless galloping horses, and after causing the

161 *EI.*, Vol. XII. pp. 156-159.

162 *Political History of Ancient India*, pp. 405-406.

Gauḍas, living on the sea-shore, in future to remain within their proper realm."

This proves that even in the middle of the 6th century A.D., the Sulkis occupied some portion of Orissa between the Gauḍas of Bengal in the North, and the Andhras in the South. The Sulkis are known from a number of their grants on copper plates, the majority of which were discovered recently in the Dhenkanal State of Orissa. Previous to this discovery this family was known from two inscriptions only of Kulastambha. The late Mr. Monmohan Chakravarti, the pioneer of historical research work in Orissa, published the earliest known grant of the Sulki kings in 1895, but at that time the dynasty and the mediæval history of Orissa was so little known that even the name of the king, Kulastambha, could not be correctly read."¹⁶³

The words *Śūlika*, *Śaulika* or *Śulki* cannot have any connection with *Solakī* or *Solaṅkī*. *Solakī* or *Solaṅkī* is a corruption of the word *Chālukya* or *Chaulukya*. It was used exclusively in connection with the Chaulukyas of Pāṭan. Now, the Aṇahilapāṭaka dynasty of the Chālukyas was founded during the last half of the tenth century. It may not be wrong to suppose that the name, probably, was not corrupted before the eleventh century. But the word *Śūlika* appears in the inscription as early as the middle of the sixth century; its mention in the *Purāṇas* is probably earlier. On the other hand, *Solakī* or *Solaṅkī* cannot be held to have been derived from any one of the words *Śūlika*, *Saulika* or *Śulki*. We definitely know that *Solaṅkī*

“which is certainly derived from Cālukya or Caulukya”¹⁶⁴ meant exclusively the Chālukyas of Pāṭan. In an inscription of Mūlarāja, the founder of the family, the name of the dynasty has been mentioned as “Chaulukika”.¹⁶⁵ Other inscriptions of the dynasty have the name as “Chaulukya”¹⁶⁶ Hema Chandra’s *Dvyāśraya Kāvya* and *Kumāra Pāla Charita*, Someśvara’s *Kīrti Kaumudī*, Merutunga’s *Prabandha Chintāmani*,—all have the name as “Chaulukya.” So, undoubtedly, their original name was “Chaulukya”.

The term only shows the accurate observation of the laws of Sanskrit grammar. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has proved that the Chālukyas of the Deccan and Gujarāt are really the same people. He has pointed out¹⁶⁷ that Bilhana in his *Karṇa Sundarī* uses the term “Chālukya” to mean the Gujarāt branch, on the other hand, he has mentioned the Kalyān dynasty as “*Chaulukya*” in the *Vikramāṅka Deva Charita*. A colophon of a manuscript, *Saddharma Chintāmani* also mentions them as Chālukya. *Solaṅkī* was used by the common people and the bards in their bardic songs. Dr. Bagchi’s statement that the Sulkis are an agricultural clan of the *Rājputs* is unfounded. The book he quotes from has only one line about them and that line is, “Sulki, an agricultural clan found in Shāhpur.” There is nothing to state that they are Rājputs.

Prof. Banerjee’s observations conclusively prove that the Sulkis can no longer be held to have originated from the

164 JPASBNS., Vol. VII. p. 443; see also BG., Vol. I. Pt. I. p. 156.

165 IA., Vol. VI. p. 191.

166 Ibid., pp. 196, 190, 201, 203 etc. (See pp. 180-214).

167 IA., Vol. XL. p. 24.

Solaṅkis or the Eastern Chālukyas of Veṅgī, which family was founded by a younger brother of Pulakeśi Satyaśraya II. of Bādāmi named Viṣṇuvardhana, Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana, Viṣṇuvardhana-Viṣamasiddhi or Pṛthvivallava Viṣṇuvardhana Yuvarāja in the inscriptions, in 615—16 A.D.,¹⁶⁸—more than half a century after the date of the Haraha inscription. Mr. Chakravarti's reading of the seals of the Puri inscriptions is questionable. Mr. Vasu also read the figure on the seal of the Talcher inscription of Kulastambha Deva as that of a boar. Prof. Banerjee has later shown it to be the figure of a deer couchant. Dr. Sastri's reading of another inscription of Kulastambha Deva also shows that the seal has the figure of a deer *couchant* and not a *running* boar. So, the Puri inscriptions, which belong to Kulastambha Deva, if they can be re-edited, are likely to show the figure of a deer couchant on the seals. None of the seals of the other inscriptions contains the figure of a boar. The story about their origin in these inscriptions is not any one of those of the Chālukyas.

The Śūlikas, who had "an army of countless galloping horses", who caused anxiety to Kumāra Gupta III., and challenged Maukharī Isāna Varman may be expected to have settled in Orissa at least some time before the date of the Haraha inscription (A.D. 554). Varāhamihira, the author of the *Brhat Samhitā*, born at Avanti during the first half of the sixth century, and bred up probably at Ujjayinī, refers to them as living in the north-west and south-east, but not in the south. The kingdom of Bādāmi which was only in its infancy at that time can not be expected to

have extended so strong a pseudopodium into the hills of Orissa, as Dr. Ray Chaudhury suggests.

It is not very clear when the Chālukya kingdom first came into being. "The earliest authentic names in the Western Chālukya family are those of Jayasiṃha I., and his son Raṇaraga We have no records of the time of either of them. And, among the genuine records of the early period, they are mentioned only in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Maṅgaleśa and the Aihoḷe inscription of the time of Pulikeśin II Jayasiṃha and Raṇaraga may very possibly have held some military or executive office under the Kadamba kings of Banawāsi But it seems clear enough that neither of them enjoyed any semblance of sovereign power."¹⁶⁹ "The first king, Pulikeśin I., established his power about A.D. 550; and his rule was apparently confined to the territory surrounding Bādāmi."¹⁷⁰ Kīrti Varman I. of the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription (A.D. 602) ascended the throne in 562 A.D.,¹⁷¹—eight years after the date of the Haraha inscription. So, no portion of his army can be expected to have been left behind during his expedition in the East, the authenticity of which is questioned by Dr. Fleet.¹⁷² But, probably, Pulakeśi I., who performed the *Aśvamedha* and so many other sacrifices was a mightier monarch than what Dr. Fleet would have us believe. It may be that he fought out some glorious victories, or the conquests of Kīrtivarman, mentioned in the inscription, might have been in connection with his father's *Aśvamedha*. But had any of his generals founded a kingdom in Orissa, it is inexplicable why he or his

169 BG., Vol. I. Pt. II. pp. 342-343.

170 *Ibid.*, p. 335.

171 IHQ., Vol. VIII. p. 23.

172 BG., Vol. I. Pt. II. pp. 345-346.

descendants would not have left behind any testimony of Chālukyan glory, tradition, creed and culture, or any example of Chālukyan rhetoric. It may be noted that the Chālukyas contributed the largest number of inscriptions of this dark age of Indian history, and that they were the patrons of the wonderful basreliefs of the Bādāmi caves¹⁷³ whose excellence has surprised even the modern antiquarians, after so many centuries. At least one of the paintings (Cave No. I) of the Ajantā caves¹⁷⁴ also bears out their taste and glory. The shrines and temples, erected by them, scattered throughout the length and breadth of their ancient kingdom, bear evidence of the Chālukyan architecture,¹⁷⁵ and their glory and culture. On the contrary, we have not even one dozen inscriptions of the Śulkis who perhaps controlled a substantial portion of Orissa for at least about five hundred years,—a habit quite un-Chālukyan.

On the other hand, the Chālukyas cannot be held to have come from the *Chūlikas*, *Śūlikas* or *Sulkis*. There is no evidence yet known, either for or against it. But the manner in which they have been mentioned in the Indian literature, down to the sixth century, shows that they were always held to be wild barbarians. The *Purāṇas* attribute to them some political power in India, nevertheless, they also describe the low origin and position of the people in unequivocal language. Thus, the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* says that they are a branch of the Kirātas (Ch. 57. v. 40). Others group them among the *Mlechchhas*. But the contemporary

173 *MAI.*, No. 25,—Prof. R. D. Banerjee, *Basreliefs of Badami*.

174 Dr. V. A. Smith—*The Early History of India*, p. 442.

175 See Mr. Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*.

evidence of the *Bṛhat Sāṃhitā* unequivocally shows their character and status in India. They are not only jackal-eaters (*Gomāyu-bhakṣa*), and classed with the *Sūdras* and the *Mlechchhas*, living on the top of the mountains, but are also grouped with the very worst of mankind. The following people are said to be dominated by *Rāhu* :

Giriśikhara-Kandara-darī—
Vinivīṣṭā Mlechchhajātayaḥ Sūdrāḥ/
Gomāyu-bhakṣa-Sūlika—
Vokkānāśvamukha-vikalāṅgāḥ/ /
Kulapāṃsana-himsra-kṛtaghna—
Chaura-niṣṭya-śaucha-dānāścha/
Kharachara-niyuddhavit—
Tivra-roṣa-garbhāśayā-nichāḥ/ /
Upahata-dāmbhika-rākṣasa—
Nidrābahulāścha jantavaḥ sarve/
Dharmēṇa cha santyaktā
*Māṣa-tilāśchārka-śaśīśatroḥ/ /*¹⁷⁶

There may be some amount of Brāhmaṇic out-burst in the passage, but there is no doubt that the people belonged to a tribe of very low standard. This is also attested by the statement of the Chinese even two centuries later as Dr. Bagchi informs us.¹⁷⁷ It is not possible that these people became so cultured all on a sudden as to be recognised as Kṣatriyas and performed not only the *Aśvamedha* but other out and out Brāhmaṇic Vedic sacrifices as *Agni-ṣtoma*, *Agnichayana*, *Vājapeya*, *Bahusuvarṇa*, and others. It should be remembered that the above description of *Varāhamihira* which sneers at the *Sūlikas* as jackal-eaters

176 *Varāhamihira, Bṛhat Sāṃhitā*, Ch. 16. VV. 35-37.

177 *JDL.*, Vol. XXI. p. 3.

(if *Gomāyu-bhakṣa* does not mean another tribe) is almost contemporary with the performances of Pulakeśī I., mentioned in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription. There are other contemporary foreign tribes, mentioned as to have acquired some political power in the *Purāṇas* in the same chapters. None of them enjoyed a high position in the estimation of the authors of the *Purāṇas*. On the contrary, the remarks of Yuan Chwang about the Chālukyas mark them out as the very best of mankind. The traveller observes, "The inhabitants were proud-spirited and war-like, grateful for favours and revengeful for wrongs, self-sacrificing towards suppliants in distress and sanguinary to death with any who treated them insultingly. Their martial heroes who led the van of the army in battle went into conflict intoxicated, and their war-elephants were also made drunk before an engagement. Relying on the strength of his heroes and elephants the king treated neighbouring countries with contempt. He was a kshatriya by birth, and his name was *Pu-lo-ki-sḥē* (Pulakeśa, Julien). The benevolent sway of this king reached far and wide, and his vassals served him with perfect loyalty. The great king Śilāditya at this time was invading east and west, and countries far and near were giving in allegiance to him, but *Mo-ha-lo-cha* refused to become subject to him. The people were fond of learning, and they combined orthodoxy and heterodoxy."¹⁷⁸

We have given some contemporary social picture in the preceeding chapter which also shows that the society was orthodox. We have shown it not from the *Purāṇas* or *Smṛtis*, but from the book of the best of the cultured,

men,—from the *Śārīraka Bhāṣya* of Śrīmat Śaṅkarāchārya. If a scholar and saint of the standard of Śaṅkara was so orthodox, one can imagine what the Brāhmaṇas of the Vaiṣṇava sect and Pūrvamīmāṃsā school were like; and yet, the Chālukyas, as their mentality and performances show, belonged to the last school at least in the beginning. The social condition may be still further understood from the *Śārīraka Bhāṣya* of Śaṅkara, composed during the period under discussion, wherein his attack on Vidura and Dharmavyādha (1. 3. 38), is not only unjust, but uncalled for.

The word Śūlika has of course been sometimes transformed into Chūlika in the Sanskrit literature. But the people seems to have kept the name Śūlika or its derivative Śūliki throughout. They have perhaps living representatives with that name; but we do not find any other people anywhere bearing the name Chūlika or its derivative.

The word *Chūlika* was in use in the ancient Sanskrit literature. It is also a name of the great sage and most renowned philosopher Pañchaśikha. Semblance of name does not always mean identity with one another. Śabara is a barbarous tribe, and Śabara Svāmin is the greatest commentator on the *Jaimini Sūtra*. He certainly did not belong to that tribe. We have so many Kirāta Devas and Gopeśvaras among the upper castes who are neither hunters nor milkmen. Hārīta was a great sage who had nothing to do with the wild tribe Hārīta.¹⁷⁹ Similarly, there were Ātreyas and Bhāradvājas¹⁸⁰ of low origin who were not connected with Atri or Bharadvāja.

179 *Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa*, Ch. 55. V. 3.

180 *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Ch. 57. V. 39.

The Chālukyas themselves have left us some stories about their origin and we have already noticed some of them. The idea of a lunar origin, got up by the Eastern dynasty of Veṅgī, probably owed its origin to their matrimonial connections for generations with the Cholas, who claimed a solar origin. A genealogy was not difficult to get. They traced their descent from Atri, Soma, Budha, Pururavā, Āyu, Nahuṣa, Yayāti and so on.¹⁸¹ They say that fifty-nine kings upto Śatānika and Udayana had ruled in Ayodhyā in unbroken lineal succession. "Then a member of the family, named Vijayāditya, came to the south, from a desire for conquest, and attacked Trilochana-Pallava, but lost his life in the attempt. His queen, who was pregnant, escaped with some of her attendants, and, being preserved by a saint named Viṣṇubhaṭṭa-Somayājīn, gave birth to a posthumous son named Viṣṇuvardhana. The young prince was nourished; and, having done worship to the goddess Gaurī on the mountain called Chalukyagiri, he at length assumed all the royal insignia of the family, conquered the Kadamba, Gaṅga, and other kings, and established himself as emperor of all the Dekkan, including seven and a half lākhs of villages, lying between the Bridge of Rāma, *i.e.* Adam's Bridge or the ridge of rocks connecting Ceylon with the Coromandel coast, and the Narmadā. The historical genealogy is introduced at this point, with the name of Pulikeśin I. It is connected with the preceding, by making him the son of the second Vijayāditya mentioned above.

But, in reality, he was the son of Raṇarāga, who was the son of Jayasimha I.¹⁸² This is plainly an invention of the eleventh century. The Lunar dynasty of the ancient literature did not rule from Ayodhyā but from Hastināpura. We have already noticed an inscription of Vikramāditya VI., who did not neglect the story altogether, where the Chālukyas claim descent from the eye of Atri. His court-poet Bilhaṇa, on the contrary, gave preference to the story of their origin from the palm of Brahmā. But the Kalyān dynasty on the whole paid more prominence to the story of their migration from the north and their descent from Satyāśraya, the great king of Ayodhyā. They claimed it from the very beginning, for it appears in the poem of Raṇṇa,¹⁸³ court-poet of Taila II. His successors also mentioned it. The Baḷagāmve inscription of the time of Jayasimha II., dated 1019 A.D., states, "The kings of the Chālukya family governed the earth, which consisted of fifty-nine thrones, with the greatest happiness at the excellent city of Ayodhyāpura; and Satyāśraya,—who was born in that race, and who was the lord of the lovely woman Victory,—ruled the whole world, so that he acquired the title of a universal emperor, and the family of Brahma was called the excellent Satyāśrayakuḷa."¹⁸⁴ He was in all probability one of their illustrious ancestors for the name occurs in the inscriptions of the earlier Chālukya dynasty as well. Apart from their own statement, we do not as yet definitely know of any other evidence of their connection with the north.

182 *BG.*, Vol. I. Pt. II. pp. 340-341.

183 *IA.*, Vol. XI. pp. 43, 44.

184 *Ibid.*, V. p. 17.

The word “*Hiraṇyagarbhasambhūtaḥ*” of the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription probably means something other than what its celebrated editor has indicated, *i.e.*,—descended from Hiraṇyagarbha or Brahmā.¹⁸⁵ Dr. Hultsch, who explains the term as indicating a special rite or one of the sixteen great gifts (*mahādāna*), seems to be correct.¹⁸⁶

There is a Sanskrit manuscript named “*Saddharma Chintāmaṇi*” in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.¹⁸⁷ The book has been “copied from a very defective MS., as there are lacunæ in almost every leaf.” “It was compiled under the patronage of Kikāmantri who is described as the son of the finance minister of the Pa(ra)-māra Rājā of Dhārā. Kikā was himself the prime minister of Bhīmasena of the Chālukya family, most likely the Bhīma Chālukya of Guzerat who fought with Mahmud of Gazni in the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D.” In a colophon of this manuscript “6A (marked 5)” the Chālukya king Bhīma has been described as “*BrahmaChālukya-vamśaku(la)dīpaka*”. The word *Brahma* before *Chālukya* probably indicates Brāhmaṇic origin of the Chālukyas.

Dr. Hirananda Sastri, on the evidence of an old Sanskrit manuscript of the sixteenth century, *Virabhānūdaya Kāvya*, supplied to him by Dewan Bāhādur Pandit Janki Prasad, adviser to His Highness, the Mahārāja of Rewa, comments on the origin of the Bāghelas, a branch of the Chālukyas of Pāṭan, as follows :

185 *IA.*, Vol. XIX. pp. 13, 17, 19; *BG.*, Vol. I. Pt. II. p. 342.

186 *EI.*, Vol. XVII. p. 328; See also *JRAS.*, 1934, pp. 729-732.

187 Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. H. P. Sastri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. III. pp. 49-51.

“In connection with the origin of this dynasty, it will not be out of place to observe, in passing, the statement made in the book (see above Canto IX), that in the marriage of Rāmachandra, the son of Virabhānu, and Yaśodā, the daughter of Mādhavasimha, the two great houses of the *munīndra* (=the chief of *munis* or sages) Bhāradvāja Vyāghrapāda, and *Viprendra* (=the chief of *Vipras*) Arishṭanemi were happily united. It looks more than curious, especially, because *Vipra* not only signifies a sage but a Brahman as well. Is it an instance of ‘priest-kings’ similar to those of the house of Mewār, who hold the office of the Diwān of Ekalingaji, as pointed out by William Crooke, in his Introduction to the *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, by Col. Tod, page XXXVI? Mention may also be made here of Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar’s very suggestive paper on the ‘Guhilots’ [J. and Proc. A.S.B. (N.S.), Vol. V, 1909] referred to by V. Smith in his Early History of India, p. 415, footnote 1.”¹⁸⁸ The relevant passage in question is, “The nuptial-tie thus united the two great houses, namely, the house of Bhāradvāja Vyāghrapāda, the great sage, and the house of Arishṭanemi, the great ‘*Vipra*’ (or seer) ‘who stopped even the Sun by his command’.”¹⁸⁹ This is a clear assertion of a Brāhmaṇic origin.

The claim of a Brāhmaṇic origin is not so new. We have already seen that the Balagāmve inscription of the time of Jayasimha II. (A.D. 1019) records them as the *family of Brahma*, which was ‘called the excellent *Satyāśrayakula*.’ The Handarike inscription of the time of Vikramāditya VI. gives the following account about their

188 *MASt.*, No. 21, *The Baghela Dynasty of Rewal*, p. 9, fn. 2.

189 *Ibid*, p. 8.

origin, "In the water-lily that sprang from the navel of Vishṇu, there was born Hiranyagarbha-Brahman; his son was Manu; his was Māṇḍavya; his, Harita; and his, Hārīti-Pañchaśikha; the Chālukyas were born in the interior of his water-pot (*Chulka*), when he was pouring out a libation to the gods; then a certain Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya (a purely imaginary person) appropriated the territories of his enemies;....."¹⁹⁰ Here, the name of the sage Hārīti-Pañchaśikha has been substituted in place of Brahmā of the story of Bilhaṇa. But an earlier grant, of the reign of Jayasimha II. dated A.D. 1025-26, states, "The mind-born son of the god Brahman was Svayambhuva-Manu; his son was Mānavya, from whom came all those who belonged to the Mānavya *gotra*; Mānavya's son was Harita; his son, was Pañchaśikhi-Hārīti; and the son of the latter was Chālukya, from whom sprang the race of the Chālukyas."¹⁹¹ Another inscription, the Terdāl inscription (A.D. 1123-24) of the time of Vikramāditya VI. also states that the Chālukyas were descendants of Pañchaśikha: *Kuṇṭala -mahītala -chakravarttigal = anṛayāvātāram = emt-ēmdade// Vri(vṛi)// Vanaḥja-kshmā-ḍa(dhara)-paḍma-sadmaḥjan = Ajaṇi prodbhūta-Hārīta-nanḍana-Māṇḍavya-nin = āda Paṃchaśikhaninṇi band = ā Chaluky-ānṛay-āvanipar = mṃmṃ-palar = āge matt = ahitaranṇi gelud = urri-viyaṃ tāḍa Tailan = ad = oṃḍ = anvaya-Meruv = ānta nīlayaṃ śrī Rāyakolāhalaṃ//* (Brahman sprang from his abode, the lotus of the god Vishṇu, who supports the world and holds a lotus. Maṇḍavya, the son of Hārīta was next born. From Māṇḍavya sprang Pañchaśikha. Many kings of the Chalukya line, descended from Pañchaśikha,

having already passed away, there arose Taila who again overthrew his enemies and ruled the earth).¹⁹² A comparison of the three inscriptions mentioned above shows that Mānavya of the earliest one has been put as Māṇḍavya of the other two.

This claim of Brāhmaṇic origin seems to be historically more true than other stories regarding the origin of the Chālukyas. Their inscriptions show that they had from the beginning a very intimate connection with the Brāhmaṇic culture and tradition. The art they patronised forms "a valuable illustration of Vaishnava mythology and Indian art only to be equalled by what Ajanta affords for Buddhism."¹⁹³ The Brāhmaṇical temples constitute the major portion of their architecture. The name of the dynasty too is significant.

Dr. Fleet has pointed out that the dynasty has been designated under different names.¹⁹⁴ The earliest form is '*Chalkya*' in the Bādāmi cave inscription (A.D. 578); the second form is *Chalikya* in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription (A.D. 602) with the Dravidian ḷ; the third, *Chalikya* with ordinary l, in the Neur grant of Maṅgaleśa. The next form is *Chalukya* in the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśi II. (A.D. 634), which was finally adopted by the Bādāmi dynasty and occurs most frequently in their inscriptions. He then points out that the form *Chālukya* with the long vowel ā in the first syllable never occurred in any of the

192 *IA.*, Vol. XIV. Text, p. 16, Translation, pp. 21-22.

193 Dr. Burgess, *Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. I; Report of the First Sessions Operations in the Belyam and Kaladi Districts*, 1874, p. 72. Quoted by Prof. R. D. Banerjee in *Basreliefs of Badami*, p. 2.

194 *BG.*, Vol. I. Pt. II. p. 336 and fn. 3.

genuine inscriptions of the early dynasty, and that it was used by the restored dynasty of Kalyān. This form has also been found to be used with the Dravidian *ḷ* in the second syllable.¹⁹⁵ He then concludes that the forms *Chalikya* and *Chalukya* perhaps evolved from the original form *Chalkya* by the insertion of pronounciative vowels. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, however challenges the statement¹⁹⁶ and says that the form *Chālukya* does belong to the earlier dynasty also, and is found in genuine early inscriptions. He points out that the inscriptions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who supplanted the Chālukyas mention them as Chālukyās (*Yaśchālukyākulādnuna*). In three of the five grants of the Eastern branch of the early dynasty, edited by Dr. Hultzsch, we have *Chālukyānāmkuḷaṃ*, though the form *Chalukya* also occurs in the inscriptions of this dynasty. He then remarks, "The distinction between *Cha* and *Chā* and the difference in sense in consequence of the lengthening of the vowel which Dr. Fleet points out have place in the pure Sanskrit of Pāṇini and of the Brāhmaṇas; but there is no room for them in names that came into use in the Prākṛit period long after Sanskrit became a dead language."¹⁹⁶ It may be pointed out that the form *Chaḷukya*, with short *a* in the first syllable and the Dravidian *ḷ* in the second, occurs in the Terdāl inscription¹⁹⁷ of the later dynasty of Kalyān. Pandit Bhagvānlāl Indrajī adds two more forms to the list,—*Chirikya*¹⁹⁸ and *Chalukika*.¹⁹⁹

195 *IA.*, Vol. VII. pp. 106 (line 64), 211, 219.

196 *EHD.*, p. 82. fn. 1.

197 *IA.*, Vol. XIV. p. 16. line 12 (2).

198 *BG.*, Vol. I. Pt. I. p. 156.

199 *Verhandlungen Des VII. Internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses*, 1886, pp. 232, 236.

We have then thirteen forms of the name : (1) *Chalkya*, (2) *Chalīkya*, (3) *Chalīkya*, (4) *Chalukya*, (5) *Chalukya*, (6) *Chālukya*, (7) *Chālukya*, (8) *Chirīkya*, (9) *Chalukika*, (10) *Chaulukika*, (11) *Chaulukya*. We have already discussed about the forms (12) *Solakī* and (13) *Solanīkī*. About the original name of the family, Dr. Fleet says that probably it was Chalkya.²⁰⁰ Sir R. G. Bhandarkar says, "Chalukya was some vernacular name which was Sanskritized into the various forms we actually find."²⁰¹ Pandit Bhagvānlāl Indraji is also of a similar opinion.²⁰²

But the word that is said to have undergone this Sanskritization is perhaps more Sanskritic in the base than it has appeared to be. We have already examined the evidences which indicate a Brāhmanic origin of the Chālukyas. Now the Brāhmaṇas usually derive their family-names from a linear ancestor or an early *Guru* of the family. Thus we have *Bhārgavas*, *Vātsyas*, *Āṅgirasas*, *Bhāradvājas*, *Maudgalyas*, *Gārgyas* and so on. So it is quite possible that the family name of the Chālukyas also was similarly derived from the name of an ancestor. But the Brāhmaṇa family, taking up the profession of rulers, perhaps forgot their real origin, and invented some story to find a derivative meaning of the original name. Such a possibility gains support when we observe how Mayura Śarmā, the Kadamba, was divinised during the twelfth century.

Kirtirāja's story, made famous by Bilhaṇa, was certainly built on the word *Chuluka*. That this word is at the root of the family-name is clearly understood when we notice that the name of the family was correctly construct-

200 *BG.*, Vol. I. Pt. II. p. 337. fn.

201 *Ibid.*, p. 180. fn. 1.

202 *BG.*, Vol. I. Pt. I. p. 156.

ed on that word by adding the *taddhita pratyaya* “*Ṣṇika*” (*Chaulukika*) by Mūlarāja,²⁰³ the founder of the Pāṭan dynasty, before any story was invented to explain the name. It may also be noted that the inscriptions of the Pāṭan dynasty do not record any story before Kumāra Pāla (A.D. 1151), though they always mentioned the dynastic name by the word *Chaulukya* formed by adding the *taddhita pratyaya* “*Ṣṇya*” after the word *Chuluka*. We have noticed that an inscription of Jayasimha II. records that Chālukya was their first ancestor without mentioning any story about him and tracing him from Manu, Hārīta and Pañchaśikha. No record of the Kalyān dynasty mentions the story of their origin from Brahmā’s *Chuluka* nor can it “be traced elsewhere in the records of the southern Chālukyās”²⁰⁴ though it was given such a publicity by their celebrated court-poet Bilhana. “Bilhana here combines the legend of the *culuka*-birth,” adds Dr. Hoernle, “which is peculiar to the later northern Chaulukyās, with the tradition of a descent from Mānavya and Hārīta, which is the property of the earlier southern Chālukyās; and, so far as I know, the combination is limited to him.”

Among other meanings put against this word, the *Bārhaspatya Abhidhāna* says that there was a *Gotra-pravartaka* Ṛshi of the name Chuluka. We have a brief reference to this sage in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, the greatest grammarian of the Sanskrit language. Under the *Sūtra* “*Gargādibhyo Yañ*”²⁰⁵ to indicate that the suffix *Yañ* is used after the names of the sages Garga and others to

203 *IA.*, Vol. VI. pp. 191, 192.

204 *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 25.

205 Pāṇini, *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, (4.1.105).

denote their descendants, he mentions the sage Chuluka as well to illustrate the rule in the *Gaṇapāṭha*²⁰⁶ under the *Kaṇvas*. Both the *Gaṇapāṭha* and the *Dhātupāṭha* are ascribed to Pāṇini.²⁰⁷ But it is not beyond doubt and has been questioned by eminent authorities.²⁰⁸ Yet there can be no doubt that Pāṇini meant some such collections when he composed his *Sūtras*, for without them his grammar is miserably incomplete. So, if he is not the author of the *Gaṇapāṭha*, some such collection was evidently current during his time from an earlier one to which he referred his *Sūtras* ending in “*ādi*.” But a later interpolation is quite possible and probable. In that case we do not know whether this particular example was in his list or is a later addition. But, as we shall presently see, the name is contained in the *Pravarādhya* of the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* and if it is at all an interpolation, it was added at a very early period.

In the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, *Pravarādhya*,²⁰⁹ we have one Chelaka among the *Bhāradvājas*. This name has been differently written in different manuscripts. In one it is Chauruka. ‘R’ and ‘L’ are interchangable in Sanskrit. We shall see later on that the Chālukyas were *Bhāradvājas*. So Chauruka in reality might be Chauluka, a form grammatically formed by Pāṇini by the *Sūtra* “*Kaṇvādibhyo gotre*”²¹⁰ from the word *Chuluka*. This

206 Mahāmahopādhyāya Vedāntavāgīśa Sridharshastri Pathak and Vidyānidhi Siddheshvarshastri Chit Rao, *Word Index to Pāṇini-Sūtra-Pāṭha and Parīṣiṣṭas*, pp. 385, 682.

207 Sir Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*.

208 Dr. Weber, *The History of Indian Literature, Second Edition*, 1882, p. 225.

209 BSSP., Vol. III. p. 429.

210 *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, (4.2.111).

becomes all the more clear when we find that the Bombay edition of the *Pravara* text mentions *Chaulakāyana* as pointed out by Sir Monier Monier-Williams in his '*Sanskrit-English Dictionary*'. In the *Mahābhārata*, we have a river named Chulukā.²¹¹ In the Bombay and Calcutta editions, the name is Chulakā.²¹² This again shows that it was differently written and read in different manuscripts. The name of the river may have connection with the sage. In the *Mahābhārata*, it is mentioned along with the name Kāverī. So Mr. Pargiter places the river in the Deccan.²¹³ But the names there are not geographically arranged.

We have another Chelaka in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.²¹⁴ But he is a *Śāṇḍilyāyana*, i.e., a descendant of Śāṇḍilya. It may be that there were more than one sage known by the name of Chelaka and the family-name was mentioned to point to a particular person. Some copies of the manuscripts of the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* have Śvelaka, Khelaka or Velaka.²¹⁵ This also shows how differently the name was read and understood.

We have seen that Pañchaśikha has been claimed as an ancestor by the Chālukyas. One of his names was Chūlika. The *Haraviṣaya Kāvya*, composed by Ratnākara, the court-poet of Jayāpiṇḍa,²¹⁶ king of Kasmir, in connection with *Bhagavat Stutivarnanam*, mentions him thus :

211 *Mbh.*, *Vishmaparva*. Ch. 9. V. 20.

212 Dr. Sørensen, *An Index to the Names of the Mahābhārata*, p. 179.

213 *JRAS.*, 1912. p. 713. fn. 1.

214 *SP Br.*, Dr. Weber's Ed., p. 791, (10.4.5.3).

215 *BSSP.*, Vol. III. p. 429. fn. 4.

216 Dr. Macdonell, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 330; Dr. Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 164; Dr. H. C. Ray, *DHNI.*, Vol. I. p. 115; *HMI.*, Vol. I. pp. 240, 215. All have

Puruṣastameva kila pañchaviṃśakah

Sphuṭa Chūlikārthavachanaīrnigadyase ||²¹⁷

The commentator explains Chūlika thus: *Chūlikasya Pañchaśikhākhyasya muneḥ arthāḥ* (Chūlika means Pañchaśikha, the sage). So Chūlika was no doubt a name of Pañchaśikha. Again the *Chūlikopanishad* contains not only the germs of Sāṅkhya philosophy, but the very name of the system (V. 14.). Chūlika or Pañchaśikha was one of the greatest Sāṅkhya philosophers who was second only to Kapila. The *Chūlikopanishad* was probably composed by Pañchaśikha. It says that it is a book of the *Bhārgavas* and *Atharvanas* (i.e. *Āṅgirasas*) who were the best of the *Bhārgavas*. According to some authorities Āṅgirā is a son of Atharvan and Atharvan, a son of Bhṛgu. The relevant passage is: *Paṭhante Bhārgavāhyetaḍ-Atharvāṇo Bhṛgūttamāḥ* || (V. 10). Probably Pañchaśikha was an *Āṅgirasa*,—disciple of the Āṅgirā school. The Chālukyas are also *Āṅgirasas* and are grouped among the *Bhāradvājas*. Their inscriptions already noticed clearly state Pañchaśikha to be an *Āṅgirasa* by prefixing or suffixing the term Hārīti, for Hārīta was one of the most celebrated *Āṅgirasa*. The *Mahābhārata* states that Pañchaśikha belonged to the *Parāśaras* (*Parāśara-sagotrasya* 12.

placed Jayāpiḍa in the ninth century A.D. But it may be pointed out that Itsing, who visited India in the seventh century, mentions Jayāpiḍa as Jayāditya who is said to have died in 661-662 A.D. (See Dr. Takakusu, *A record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago*, p. 176). Itsing also supports the most prominent Indian view that Jayāditya was the celebrated author of the *Kāśikā-vṛtti* (pp. 175-176). Dr. Macdonell admits that it was composed about 650 A.D. (pp. 431-432). See also *Yu Ch.*

217 Kāvya-mālā No. 22, Ratnākara, *Haraviṃśaya*, p. 85, Canto 6, V. 18.

0. 24). But the prophesy of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (Ch. 23. V. 140-141) tends to show that it was by way of adoption as disciples. The prophesy is that in the eighth *Kalpa* (cycle of creation) when Vaśiṣṭha will be *Vyāsa*,* then Āpila, Āsuri, Pañchaśikha and Vāskali will be his disciples. Probably the Sāṅkhya philosophers belonged to the Vaśiṣṭha school. Parāśara is the grandson of Vaśiṣṭha according to mythology.

The date of Pañchaśikha is believed to be first century B.²¹⁸ It is more or less a guess work for there is practically nothing to justify such an opinion. On the other hand, Āpila or Pañchaśikha's *Guru*, Āsuri, has been quoted many times²¹⁹ as an authority on controversial points in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. Both Āsuri and Pañchaśikha have been mentioned as seers and teachers in the *Mahābhārata* 12. 218.). It has been stated there how Pañchaśikha became a disciple of Āsuri and became known as *Kāpileya*. We have mentioned above that this sage has been quoted as Chelaka *Sāṇḍilyāyana* as an authority in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. It may be that his family-name *Sāṇḍilyāyana* was mentioned to distinguish him from Chelaka *Bhāradvāja* of the *Baudhāyana Śrauta*

* *Vyāsa* is a designation. One who divides the *Vedas* into four parts and arranges them in order is a *Vyāsa*.

18 Dr. Keith, *The Sāṅkhya System*, p. 43. He distinguishes between Pañchaśikha of the *Mahābhārata* and Pañchaśikha of the Sāṅkhya school (p. 41). Dr. Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India*, p. 397. 9 *SP Br.*, Vol. I. p. 419 (1.6.3.26); Vol. II. p. 39, (2.1.4.27); 17, (2.3.1.9); p. 180, (2.4.1.2); p. 352, (2.6.1.33); p. 408, (2.6.3.17); 4.33 *Kaṇva* text); Dr. Weber's Ed., p. 403, (4.5.8.14); p. 1024, (1.33). Āsuri is also included in the *Vaṃśa-Brāhmaṇa* of the *Ṛp.*, (2.6.3; (4.6.3); (6.5.2).

Sūtra who might be Chūlika or Pañchaśikha. The philosophies of both the Pañcharātra system of the Vaiṣṇavas²²⁰ and the Buddhists²²¹ have striking resemblance to the Sāṅkhya system. The works on Sāṅkhya system unanimously state that it was Pañchaśikha who elaborated and brought the Sāṅkhya philosophy of Kapila to lime light.²²² The *Mahābhārata* (12. 218) describes how Janaka was inspired and initiated by Pañchaśikha. Janaka gives out himself as a disciple of Pañchaśikha and says that it is his teaching that gave him true knowledge and salvation (12. 320). In these circumstances, we are inclined to place him before the rise of Buddha and during or before the period of the composition of the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* in which Śaṇḍilya, a reputed saint of the Pañcharātra school is also an important personality.²²³ But we do not as yet know

220. See Dr. Schrader, *Introduction to the Pañcharātra and the Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā*. *Mbh.* states that Pañchaśikha was well-versed in the Pañcharātra system: *Pañcharātravīśāradaḥ* (12.218.11). It is highly suggestive that the Sāṅkhya system, the Pañcharātra system and the Buddhist philosophy have a common origin.

221 Kapila is mentioned as a previous incarnation of Buddha in Buddhist legends. Pañchaśikha is said to be a descendant of a former life of Buddha in the *Jātaka*. See the *Jātaka* (Edited by Mr. V. Fausboll), Vol. III. pp. 219-224; Vol. IV. pp. 62-69; Vol. V. pp. 382-412. Translation (Edited by Prof. E. B. Cowell), Vol. III. pp. 145-148; Vol. IV. pp. 40-44; Vol. V. pp. 203-218.

222 Iśvara Kṛṣṇa, *Sāṅkhya Kārikā*, V. 70.

223 Dr. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I. p. 193. *Sp Br.*, Ch. 10. The disciples of the Pañcharātra school perform their rites (*Daśakarma*), according to the *Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā* of the *Yājurveda*. *Sp Br.* is a *Brāhmaṇa* of this *Saṃhitā*. Śaṇḍilya is mentioned in the *Ṛaṃśa-Brāhmaṇa* of the *Br Up.*, (2.6.3); (4.6.13); *Śaṇḍilīputra* is mentioned in *Br Up.*, (6.5. 2 and 3); *Sp Br.*, Ch. 14. Dr. Weber's Ed. p. 1109.

whether under these circumstances Chuluka or Chelaka (*i.e.*, Chauruka or Chauluka Bhāradvāja) and Chūlika or Pañchaśikha were one and the same person, or in later times, the name Pañchaśikha becoming more common, the original name became obsolete in general use but was retained only in the family-name of his descendants and in the sacred books. Yet this is no doubt possible.

Thus it can be stated with confidence that the descendants of the sage Chuluka were well-known even in the time of Baudhāyana and Pāṇini; or in other words, there was a group of Brāhmaṇas who claimed their origin from Chuluka and were known as Chaulukyas or Chaulukāyanas. It is very probable that the Chālukyas are none other than the *Chaulukyas* of Pāṇini and the correct form *Chaulukya* occurs in all the inscriptions of the Pāṭan dynasty. Nay, the term "*Chaulukika*" is mentioned as well. The use of the correct term before the invention of the later stories justifies such a conclusion. So it is very reasonable to suggest that the original name of the Brāhmaṇa family was *Chaulukya* and that the various other forms were but colloquial adaptations of that word.

Thus it seems that the Chālukyas were a Brāhmaṇa family in the beginning and that they were the descendants of an ancient sage Chuluka. Very likely the famous Sāṅkhya philosopher Pañchaśikha also belonged to this family.

It is the considered opinion of the competent authorities that Baudhāyana lived before Buddha,²²⁴ and Pāṇini before

224 Dr. N. K. Dutt, *The Aryanisation of India*, p. 70. Baudhāyana probably lived about 700 or 800 B.C.

Alexander the Great²²⁵ if not before Buddha. This removes all possibilities of the Gurjara origin of the Chālukyas or any foreign extraction of their family-name.

We have reasons to believe that the Chālukyas and the Kadambas have the same source of origin. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, as noticed before, has no doubt that they are intimately connected with each other. Mr. Vaidya is of definite opinion that they are of the same stock. He says, "The Kadambas were also the same race as the Chālukyas."²²⁶ The following points may be mentioned in favour of such a conclusion,

Both of them

(1) Are Brāhmaṇas.

(2) Are of *Mānavya gotra* and are *Hārītīputras* and *Āṅgirasas*.²²⁷

(3) Have the same family deities; are devoted to Ṣaḍānana or Kārtikeya (*Svāmīmahāsenā padānūdhya-tānaṃ*) and are protected by the same group of Mothers.

(4) Are staunch Hindus, supporters of the Post Buddhist Hindu renaissance and take pride in stating that they are well versed in the *Śāstras*.²²⁸

(5) Assert that they have come from the north.

225 *The Aryanisation of India*, pp. 39-42. Dr. Dutt places Pāṇini in about 500 B.C. and has proved that he cannot be later than this date. Prof. Goldstücker, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, and Dr. V. A. Smith are of opinion that Pāṇini lived before Buddha and assign him a date near about 700 B.C. This is not altogether impossible. Be that as it may, his date cannot be later than 500 B.C.

226 *HMHI.*, Vol. I. p. 266.

227 An inscription of the Kadambas directly states the term. See *IA.*, Vol. VII. p. 35 (line 4).

228 For the Kadambas, see *IA.*, Vol. VII. p. 35; *EI.*, Vol. VIII. p. 31. For the Chālukyas, see *IA.*, Vol. VII. p. 161; *Verhandlungen Des VII. Internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses*, 1886, pp. 230, 234.

While the Chālukyas forgot their Brāhmaṇic origin the Kadambas remembered it to a much later date. The reason is that the Kadambas were still Brāhmaṇas when they migrated to the Deccan. But, while the first king Mayura Śarmā was a Brāhmaṇa, we find that his very son became a *Varman* in place of *Śarman* with the adoption of Kshatriya way of life; and after a few centuries they forgot their Brāhmaṇic origin altogether and invented stories of supernatural origin. On the other hand, the Chālukyas say that they had been kings in Ayodhyā for fifty-nine generations, and came to the Deccan, evidently as Kshatriyas. Still there are reminiscences of their Brāhmaṇic origin in the narratives about the Gujarāt Chālukyas and the Rewa Bāghelas; the Kalyān dynasty also claimed it, as we have noticed before. So though the Kadambas and the Chālukyas come from the same source the separation seems to have taken place long ago while they were still in the north.

To a Hindu, there is no difference between *Brāhmaṇa Kula* and *Agni Kula*. The seven great Rshis, the earliest of mankind, according to mythology were born of fire.²²⁹ We have descriptions of *Agnivamśa* in the *Purāṇas*.²³⁰ The term *Agni-Kula* may therefore denote a Brāhmaṇic origin. Of the four Agnikulas, at least three have epigraphic evidences to show their Brāhmaṇic origin.* It is quite probable that their Brāhmaṇa ancestors took to arms like the

229 Eg., *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Ch. 65.

230 Eg., *Matsya Purāṇa*, Ch. 51.

* About the fourth, we have seen that the Paramārs claim to belong to the *Vahni-Vamśa*. *Valmi*=*Agni*. Agni had three sons named Pāvaka, Pavamāna and Suchi. Is the name Pavara or Paramāra derived from Pāvaka or Pavamāna? (See pp. 12 and 15).

Kadamba Mayura Śarmā for some reason or other. The traditional meanings attributed to the terms like *Chālukya* and *Chauhān* in the Agnikula story point to their taking up arms. Indeed the Chālukyas are described as having risen out of fire with the *Vedas* in one hand, a sword in the other and a sacred thread round the neck.²³¹

It may be noted that many of the Rājput clans claim some sort of Brāhmaṇic origin. The Sisodias were Brāhmaṇas,²³² so also were the Chālukyas, the Chauhāns and the Parihārs.* Many of the dynasties that rose to prominence

231 *Rājasthān*, Vol. II. p. 440; *BG.*, Vol. IX. Pt. I. p. 485.

232 *JASBNS.*, Vol. V. Art. Guhilot, pp. 167-187; *IA.*, Vol. LXI. p. 70; *DHNI.*, Vol. II. pp. 1153-1156.

* *IIIQ.*, Vol. X. pp. 337-343. I have some difference with Dr. Ganguly. He explains the term *Brahma-Ksatriya* to mean that the father was a Brāhmaṇa and the mother, a *Kṣatriyā*. But the term should be explained as *Agre Brahman paschād Kṣatriyaḥ iti Karma-dhārayaḥ* (Originally a Brāhmaṇa, but afterwards became a Kṣatriya). Nor can we agree to the explanation he has accepted of the term *Pratīhāra*. We do not know of any important office designated as *Pratīhāra* either from the law books or from the inscriptions. Of course the explanation given by the Parihārs in their inscriptions is an invention and an exuberation of devotion to Rāma. We suggest the following explanation as most probable:

All the Royal families and the Brāhmaṇas of ancient India derive their family-names from an early ancestor. The Parihārs claim a solar origin. Now, in the dynasty of Svayambhuva-Manu, we find a king named *Pratīhāra*. Svayambhuva-Manu had two sons, *Priyavrata* and *Uttānapāda*. *Uttānapāda*'s son was *Dhruva* of immortal glory. *Priyavrata*'s dynasty may be traced as follows: Svayambhuva-Manu(=Satarupā)—*Priyavrata*(=Varhismatī, daughter of *Prajāpati Viśvakarmā*)—*Agnidhra*(=Pūrvachiti, an *Apsarā*)—*Nābhi*(=Meru Devī, daughter of king Meru)—*Rṣabha*(=Jayantī, daughter of Indra)—*Bharata*, better known as *Jaḍa-Bharata* from whose name India is known as *Bhāratavarṣa*(=Pañchajani, daughter of *Viśvarupa*)—*Sumati*

during the early centuries of the Christian era also claim Brāhmaṇic origin. If they could retain their power and

(= Brddhasenā)—Devatājīti (= Āsuri)—Devadyumna or Indradyumna (= Dhenumatī)—P'arameṣṭhi (= Suvarṇā)—Pratīhāra (= Suvarechhalā). Pratīhāra was a saintly king well-versed in the *Sāstras*. We can not enter into the question here whether this dynasty was purely mythological or had any real existence. But there is no doubt that the ancient families traced their origin from such dynasties and they do so even this day. At least this much is possible that a group of Aryan immigrants traced their origin to a king Svayambhuva-Manu (mythological or real) and his dynasty. Perhaps the Parihārs are their modern representatives. Later on they forgot the story of their origin and traced them from Lakṣmaṇa on the meaning of the word Pratīhāra. There can be no objection of their Brāhmaṇic origin. This family was highly cultured like the Videha (Janaka) family of the later days. Out of the ten sons of Priyavrata, three did not turn to the worldly life at all and became saints. Iṣava and Bharata (Jaḍa-Bharata) are both famous for their religious attainments. Pratīhāra himself was also a celebrated saint:

Ya ātmavidyāmākhyāya svayaṃ saṃsuddho mahāpuruṣaṃ-anusasmāra! (The *Bhāgavat Purāṇa*, Sk. 5. Ch. 15. V. 4).

Pratīhāra is Pratiha in the *Bhāgavat*.

So it is quite possible that some of his descendants turned Brāhmaṇas which was not only easy but usual in those days. If the origin of the modern Brāhmaṇas are analysed, a substantial majority will be found to be of Kṣatriya origin. The Parihārs may be the descendants of Pratīhāra. (For the description of the dynasty and its achievements, see The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (2.1); The *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, (1.54); The *Bhāgavat Purāṇa*, Sk. 5).

Here is a very brief summary of my paper on *Origin of the Chauhāns*:

Prof. Rapson has described a coin of the Sassanian type and fabric bearing inscriptions in Nagri (*Indian Coins*, p. 30). The coin very nearly resembles the coinage of Khasru II. of Persia. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar remarks on this coin in the following manner: "The Nāgrī legend referred to by him consists of two parts, one *Śrī*

sovereignty and cross the Vindhya, they also would have been classed as Rājputs in all probability. Such are the

Vahmana to right and the other *Vāsudeva* to left." Another coin of *Vāsudeva* has: *Saf Varsu Tef—Śrī-Vāsudeva* in the inner circle to right, and, on the margin, *Saf Varsu Tef—Wahman × Multān Malkā*, meaning Śrī *Vāsudeva Vahmana*, king of *Multān*. Dr. Bhandarkar says that *Vahmana* is not *Bahmana* as is generally taken to be and does not mean *Brāhmaṇābād*. He reads 'Ch' for 'V' and says that the term is *Chāhamāna* and that *Vāsu Deva* was a *Chauhān*. He shows from the poems composed in honour of the *Chauhāns* that *Vāsudeva* was their ancestor. Prof. Rapson assigns 627 A.D. as the probable date of the coin. (*IA.*, Vol. XI, pp. 25-26). We have shown before that the early inscriptions of the *Chauhāns* state them to be *Brāhmaṇas*. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has noticed some more points in favour of their *Brāhmaṇic* origin. But he holds them to be *Brāhmaṇas of foreign barbarian tribes*.

We have a *Brāhmaṇa* family founded by *Chāch* in *Sind* in 642 A.D. This dynasty had three kings and the last *Dahir* was defeated by *Bin Kasim* who led the first *Muhammadan* invasion in *India*. It is highly probable that *Vāsudeva* and *Chach* are identical and the date of the coin is 642 A.D. or thereabout. There is no doubt that *Chāch* was a *Brāhmaṇa* of *Indian* origin. So the *Chauhāns* are really *Brāhmaṇa* of *Indian* origin.

The *Chauhāns* trace their origin from one *Chāhamāna*. Who is this *Chāhamāna*? We have already seen that *Indian Brāhmaṇa* and *Royal families* derive their family-names from an early ancestor. We have in the *Rgveda*, a king named *Abhyavartin Chāyamāna*. I have shown that he belonged to the *Bhṛgu* family. The *Chauhāns* of *Vātsya gotra* also belong to the *Bhṛgu* family. So it is highly probable that *Chāyamāna* of the *Rgveda* is *Chāhamāna* of the *Chauhāns*. So both the *Chauhāns* and the *Parihars* are of *Indian Brāhmaṇic* origin. The *Purāṇic* genealogy of the *Chauhāns* may be summed up thus: *Brahmā—Bhṛgu*(=*Pulomā*, daughter of *Puloman*)—*Chyayana*(=*Sukanyā*, daughter of *Saryāti* king of *Anarta*)—*Āpnuvan*(=*Ruchi*, daughter of *Nahusa*)—*Aurva—Rchika*(=*Satyavatī*, daughter of *Gādhi* and sister to *Viśvāmītra*)—*Sunahṣepha*, better known as *Devarātā*... *Prthu*(?)...*Abhyavartin Chāyamāna*...The *Chauhāns*.

Kadambas,²³³ who have the same source of origin as the Chālukyas. The Pallavas²³⁴ trace their descent from Bharadvāja through Droṇa and Aśvatthaman. The Nolambas²³⁵ of Mysore are a branch of the Pallavas. The Vākāṭakas²³⁶ also are of Brāhmaṇic origin claiming descent from Viṣṇuvṛddha of the Solar dynasty who became a Brāhmaṇa. The Brhatphalāyanas, the Sālaṅkāyanas and the Ānandas²³⁷ were most probably Brāhmaṇas. The Matsyas²³⁸ of Oḍḍavādi also claim a Brāhmaṇic origin. The Senas of Bengal were *Brahma-kṣatriyas*.²³⁹ The Rājputs perform their rites (*Daśakarma*) according to Brāhmaṇic principles. They observe the *Śrāddha ceremony* on the eleventh day,²⁴⁰ like the Brāhmaṇas, and not on the thirteenth. Some of them, specially in the Deccan, were the performers of Brāhmaṇic sacrifices of the *Karmakāṇḍa* or Pūrvamīmāṃsā school, such as *Aśvamedha*, *Vājapeya*, *Hiranyagarbha*, *Bahusuvarṇa*, etc. So it is natural to think that the revival of Brāhmaṇism in the early centuries of the Christian era was accompanied by the rise of Brāhmaṇa dynasties. It began with the Suṅgas and Kanvas and ended with the Rājputs.

233 *EL.*, Vol. VIII. p. 32, *IA.*, Vol. XL. pp. 26, 27.

234 *SII.*, Vol. II. Pt. III. pp. 354-355.

235 Mr. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 27.

236 *HMHI.*, Vol. I. p. 265; Dr. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III.,—*Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and Their Successors*, pp. 236, 241, 245, 248.

237 See their inscriptions noted in Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil's *Ancient History of the Deccan*; *JDL.*, Vol. XXVI. pp. 33-83.

238 *EL.*, Vol. XV. p. 246; *EL.*, Vol. V. pp. 106-112.

239 Dr. Smith, *Early History of India*, pp. 435-436.

240 Capt. A. H. Bingley, *Rajputs*, p. 155.

VI

The Chālukyas state that they are of '*Mānavya*' *gotra*, are *Hārītīputras* and are descendants of Satyāśraya. *Mānavya gotra* implies their descent from Manu. The term can be explained otherwise. As all men are considered to be descended from Manu according to mythology, all are of the *Mānavya gotra* in some way or other, and anybody having no specific *gotra* may call himself a *Mānavya*.²⁴¹ But in the case of the Chālukyas and the Kadambas, who are of Brāhmaṇic origin, and who have persistently and with pride mentioned their *gotra*, such a meaning cannot be entertained. The Chālukyas have definite tradition that Manu was their original forefather. Manu's descendants are *Mānavya* in the *Yajurveda*. We have Mānava school there (and a *Śrauta Sūtra* in this connection) "to whom the law-book of Manu probably traces its origin."²⁴² Modern descendants of the Solāṅkis are now of *Bharadvāja gotra*. This difference seems to be a metamorphosis in accordance with the Brāhmaṇic custom of the *Mitākṣarā* school,²⁴³ which is authoritative everywhere in India except in Bengal. *Mānavya gotra* is under *Bharadvāja gaṇa*. Both the *gotras* have the same *pravaras*: *Āṅgīrasa*, *Bārhaspatya*, *Bhāradvāja*. The ancestors of the Chālukyas, as we shall see later on, were disciples of Maharshi Āṅgirā, grand-father of Bharadvāja. Bharadvāja is the group name of many of the *gotras* of Āṅgirā's disciples including "*Mānavya*." So the change in reality is a reversion to the group name. We have historical evidence of the change of

241 BSSP., Vol. III. p. 466.

242 Dr. Macdonell, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 246.

243 HMHI., Vol. III. pp. 475, 476.

gotra of this type.²⁴⁴ The rule that all enlisted in castes other than Brāhmaṇas must take Brāhmaṇa *gotra*²⁴⁵ is at the root of it, and *when the Chaulukyas came out of the Jaina influence*, the priestly class probably named their *gotra* according to the family of their "*Guru*"—the family of Aṅgīrā, reverting to the group name *Bharadvāja*. In the *Boudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* we find a long list of *gotras* and many of them are now obsolete. The reason is likely a change of this type, *i.e.* reverting to the group name, and not one of pure extinction.

Dr. Bühler,²⁴⁶ Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar,²⁴⁷ and Mr. Vaidya²⁴⁸ hold that the Chālukyas of Gujarāt are not descendants of the Chālukyas of the Deccan though they also migrated from Aryāvarta. That the Deccan Chālukyas migrated from the north is unquestionable according to Dr. Bhandarkar: "There can be no question that the Chālukyas came from the north."²⁴⁹ Dr. Hoernle is also of the same opinion.²⁵⁰ Whether the Chālukyas of Gujarāt are descended from the Chālukyas of the Deccan or migrated from Kanauj direct descending from the original stock we shall discuss later on. But it must be mentioned here that the argument of the difference of *gotra* advanced by Mr. Vaidya in this connection to denote their different origins²⁵¹ can not stand. We have already shown that

244 *The Indian Culture*, Vol. I. pp. 708-709.

245 Dr. Bühler in General Cunningham's *Stūpa of Bharhut*, p. 129. Vijnāneśvara, *Mitākṣarā*; *HMHI.*, Vol. III. pp. 475, 476.

246 *IA.*, Vol. VI. pp. 182-183.

247 *JBBRAS.*, Vol. XXI. pp. 425-428.

248 *HMHI.*, Vol. III. pp. 194-195.

249 *IA.*, Vol. XL. p. 27.

250 *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 12.

251 *HMHI.*, Vol. III. pp. 194-195.

their *gotra* was changed from *Mānavya* to *Bharadvāja*. If the *Mānavya gotra* of the Deccan Chālukyas and the *Bharadvāja gotra* of the Gujarāt Solāṅkis signify difference of origin, then we have to think of two different peoples as Mr. Vaidya has done. But there is nothing to prove it. On the contrary, the story of their origin is the same both in the north and the south indicating their descent from a common stock. Mr. Vaidya has, moreover, advanced the *Bharadvāja gotra* of the Gujarāt Chālukyas as proof in support of their claim to lunar origin. He says, "As Bhāradvāja belonged to the lunar line, the Chālukyas of Bhāradvāja gotra also belonged to the same line."²⁵² The genealogy of Bharadvāja, however, is as follows²⁵³: Brahmā—Āṅgirā—Brhaspati—Bharadvāja. We do not understand how Bharadvāja is connected with the lunar line. Moreover, the lunar origin was claimed by the Chālukyas of Veṅgī who are of the *Mānavya gotra* and who are directly descended from the Chālukyas of Bādāmi; but the Solāṅkis themselves never claimed a lunar origin. The idea of lunar origin is a later invention. Dr. D. C. Ganguly rejects it as "manifestly fabulous."²⁵⁴ Thus Mr. Vaidya's conclusion that the Deccan Chālukyas are of solar origin²⁵⁵ and the Gujarāt Chālukyas are of lunar origin²⁵⁶ cannot be supported.

There has been difference of opinion regarding the term *Hārītiputra*. It has been taken as denoting *gotra* by some. For example, Dr. Hultsch says, "The Chalukyas claim descent from both the Mānavya and the Hārīta gotras."²⁵⁷

252 *HMHI.*, Vol. II. p. 14.

253 Mr. P. Chentsalrao, *GPNK.*, Introduction, p. VII.

254 *IHQ.*, Vol. VIII. p. 23.

255 *HMHI.*, Vol. I. pp. 81-82.

256 *Ibid.*, Vol. II. p. 14.

257 *SII.*, Vol. I. p. 58. fn. 1.

Others, following the opinion of Dr. Bühler, translate it as descended from a lady whose father's *purohita's gotra* was *Hārīta*. Dr. Bühler says, "The usage of calling sons after their mothers was caused, not by polyandria, as some Sanskritists have suggested, but by the prevalence of polygamy, and it survives among the Rajputs to the present day. In private conversation I have often heard a *Kuwar* called the 'son of the *Solankani*', or of the *Gohilāni*, &c. Here you will observe the Rani is called according to her family name, not according to her proper name; and you will know, from intercourse with the Rajputs, that the Ranis are always mentioned in that manner.

Now all the metronymica of the ancient kings and teachers, both Buddhistic and Brahmanical, are formed by a female family name with the word *putra*. Thus we have *Vashisthiputra*, or *Vasi(sh)thiputra*, *Sātakarni*, &c., and these names ought to be translated, 'son of the (wife) of the Vasishtha family', &c. The name was just intended to distinguish the king or teacher from the other sons of his father by naming his mother according to her family name.

There is another point connected with these metronymica which deserves attention; viz. that the family names are all those of Brahmanical gotras. The explanation of this fact is that in accordance with the precepts of the Smṛiti, the Rajas were considered members of the *gotras* of their *purohitas*, and called themselves after the latter."²⁵⁸

Dr. Bühler's observations do not seem to be correct. It is true that the Rājput queens are addressed as *Solankinī* or *Gohilānī* etc. to denote the families they come from. But they are not called by their fathers' *gotras* but only by their

respective clan or family-name. Family-names in the case of the Rājputs and other non-Brāhmaṇas are not the same as their *gotras*. Is any Rājput princess or queen addressed as *Bhāradvājñī*, or *Vaiṣṇavāpānī*? This point can not be over-looked. Let us examine Dr. Bühler's conclusions with regard to the Chālukyas who are always *Hārītiputras*. According to his explanation, we are to think that the Chālukyas always married princesses whose fathers' *purohitas*' *gotra* was *Hārīta*. Apart from the impracticability of such a state of things, it is not historically true, for we know from the inscriptions that they married in different families who were in no way connected with the *Hārīta gotra*. Neither it is true "that the Rani is called according to her family name and not according to her proper name," and that "the Ranis are always mentioned in that manner." We have got many of the queens of the Rājput royal dynasties mentioned in inscriptions and literatures. Not only their family-names in the usual way of the Rājputs but their proper names also have been given. In the inscriptions of the Chālukyas bearing the epithet '*Hārītiputra*', we have mentions of their queens both with their proper names and fathers' family-names. To begin with, the queen of Satyāśraya Pulakeśī I. was 'Durlava (devī),who, like Damayantī, was a most devoted wife; who was the ornament of the Batpūra family.'²⁵⁹ We have a grant of 'Śrī Vijayamahādevī,'²⁶⁰ wife of Chandrāditya and daughter-in-law of Pulakeśī II. In the grant of Kīrti Varman II. we find the two queens of his father Vikramāditya II. as "*Haihaya-vamśa-sambhūtā priyā mahādevī Umā bhagabatīva.....Śrī Lokamahādevyā*"²⁶¹ and her

259 *IA.*, Vol. XIX. p. 19, text, p. 18, lines 12-13.

260 *Ibid.*, VIII. pp. 44-47.

261 *EL.*, Vol. III. p. 5.

uterine sister (*Sodaryyā kanīyasī bhaginī*) Trailokyamahādevī, mother of Nṛpasimha Kīrtivarman Satyāśraya (*Kīrtti-varmma-Satyāśraya -śrīpṛithivīvallabha -mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-bhaṭṭāraka-śrī-Nṛpasīṅgha rājasya jananī śrī Trailokyamahādevyāyāh*). In this grant Kīrtivarman II's mother's name is mentioned; her father's family-name is also there. But he has not been addressed according to his mother's father's *purohita gotra* with the suffix 'putra'. In the case of Taila II. of Kalyān, we have his mother's name mentioned in the poem of Raṇṇa²⁶² as Boṅkā Devī of the Chaidya family. This is supported by the inscription of his grand-son, the Kauthem grant of Vikramāditya V., with the slight difference of 'Boṁthā' in place of Boṅkā. She is mentioned as "*Chediśa-vaṁśa-tilukāṁ Lakshmaṇa-rājasya naṁdanāṁ nuta-śīlāṁ Vo(bo)ṇthādevīm*."²⁶³ In the same grant Taila's queen has been mentioned as Śrī Jākavvā, a daughter of Bhammaha of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family. Neither the queens have been mentioned according to their fathers' *purohitas' gotras* nor their royal sons, with the suffix *putra* after the feminine derivatives of such Brāhmanical *gotras*. Such examples can be multiplied not only from the Chālukya grants but from those of other Rājput kings. In the case of the Chālukyas, as many of the inscriptions, containing queen's names and the names of the families they came from, also contain the term '*Hārīti-putra*' it obviously has a special meaning. The mothers might belong to different families but the kings would always be addressed as '*Hārīti-putras*'. Dr. Bühler's statement that the Hindus being polygamous and so having sons by different wives these metronymics were used to distinguish be-

262 *IA.*, Vol. XL. pp. 43, 44.

263 *IA.*, Vol. XVI. p. 22.

tween step-brothers ("other sons of his father") is also contrary to facts. For we have instances of the mention of step-brothers in inscriptions; but they have been stated in ordinary language. For instance, we have in a Chālukya grant: '*Tasya dvemāturo* Dānanṛpastrīṇi varshāṇi tamtassaptaviṃśati-varshāṇi daivadurohayā Veṅgimahirānāyikābhavat*/'²⁶¹ Again, we have in a Parihār grant "*Param(a)bhagavatibhaktō mahārāja-śrī-Mahendrapāladevas = tasya puttras = tat-pād-ānudhyātah śrī Dehanāgādevyām = utpannaḥ paramavaishṇavo mahārāja śrī-Bhojadevas = tasya bhrātā śrī-Mahendrapāladeva-puttras = tayoh = pādānudhyātah śrī Mahādevīdevyām = utpannaḥ paramādityabhaktō mahārāja-śrī-Vināyakapāladevaḥ*/'²⁶⁵

According to Bilhaṇa²⁶⁶ and some Chālukya inscriptions already noticed both Hārīta and Mānavya belong to this dynasty. Had the term '*Hārītīputra*' been used to denote the maternal descent of the Chālukyas, it would not have been possible for Bilhaṇa and others to record such a statement. It clearly shows that such a meaning was never thought of by the Chālukyas themselves. Dr. Bülher's observations cannot therefore be supported.

There were many Rājput ruling families in that period but we get the use of these metronymics in the case of a few only. This shows that it has nothing to do with the customs of the Rājputs in general. Some say that it was peculiar to the Deccan. Though we get such metronymics in the north as well it was of course more prevalent in the south.

* Read *Daimāturo*. For *Tassapta* read *tataḥ sapta*.

264 *SII.*, Vol. I. p. 54.

265 *IA.*, Vol. XV. pp. 140-141. (Both the seal and the plate).

266 *V Ch.*, Canto I. V. 58.

There are others according to whom these metronymics such as *Hārītiputra*, *Gautamīputra*, *Vāśiṣṭhīputra* should mean the first mother of the family only to denote that she came of a family whose father's *purohita's gotra* was *Hārīta*, *Gautama* or *Vāśiṣṭha* and so on. But in some of the dynasties other than the Chālukyas and the Kadambas, these metronymics have not been always the same. For instance, in the Sātavāhana family, we have *Gautamīputra* *Madharīputra* and *Vāśiṣṭhīputra*, and in the Ikṣāku dynasty, *Mādhārīputra* and *Vāśiṣṭhīputra*. So such an explanation is not possible.

What then can these metronymics mean? In the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*²⁶⁷ and *Bṛhādāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*²⁶⁸ we have long lists of these metronymics ending in 'putra', as *Pautimāsīputra*, *Kātyāyanīputra*, *Gautamīputra*, *Bhāraḷ-vājīputra* and so on. In his commentary on the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* named *Mukhyārtha prakāśikā*, composed in accordance with Sāyana, Dvivedagaṅga says, "*Putra-mantha-karmaṇaḥ strīsaṃskārārthavenoktavātrastan-nidhānadayaṃ vaṃśa strīprādhānyenochyate*/"²⁶⁹ 'Here the line of heredity has been given with the suffix *putra* after the names of the wives for their high attainments and great renown.' In his commentary (*Bhāṣhya*) of the *Bṛhādāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, Śrīmat Śaṅkarācārya, who flourished in this period during the supremacy of the Chālukyas, comments on them as, *Āthedāniṃ samastapravachana-vaṃśaḥ/ Strīprādhānyāt gunavān putro*

267 *SP Br.*, Ch. XIV. Dr. Weber's Ed. pp. 1108-1109; Prof. Max Müller, *A History of the Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 232.

268 *Br Up.*, (6.5).

269 *SP Br.*, Dr. Weber's Ed. p. 1176.

*bhavatīti prastutam; ataḥ strīviśeṣaṇenaiva putraviśeṣa-
ṇādāchāryaparaṇparā kīrttyate*/'²⁷⁰ (Now the com-
plete hereditary line of this knowledge from seer
to seer is spoken. It has been done in recognition of
the truth that renowned sons are born of illustrious wives.
So the chain of heredity of the *Āchāryas* has been sung
according to the metronymic derived from the wife.) As
was usual, they could have been named after their fathers;
but these learned seers have been named according to their
mothers since they were celebrated ladies. It is to be noted
that the expression used is, "*strīviśeṣaṇenaiva*" and not
even '*mātrīviśeṣaṇenaiva*'. Had the feminine stems
Hārītī or *Vāsiṣṭhī* of the terms like *Hārītīputra* or *Vāsiṣṭhī-
putra* meant the daughter of *Hārīta* or of *Vāsiṣṭha* and not
the wife of *Hārīta* or of *Vāsiṣṭha*, it would be impossible for
Śaṅkara and Dvivedagaṅga to use expressions like *Strī-
prādhānyāt* or *Strīviśeṣaṇenaiva* to explain them. In that
case, they would have rather explained them with the
term *Mātrīviśeṣaṇenaiva*. *Strī* means *wife* and never
daughter. It clearly shows that the feminine stem
here indicates the wife and not the daughter. This
is strengthened by the fact that the epithets '*Mānavya
Gotra*' and *Hārītīputra* are complimentary in this respect
for both *Manu* and *Hārīta* belong to the same dynasty as
we shall presently see.

The three inscriptions²⁷¹ in which the origin of the
Chālukyas has been traced from Pañchaśikha clearly state
that *Manu*, *Mānavya* and *Hārīta* belong to the same family.
Pañchaśikha is either *Hārīti-Pañchaśikha* or *Pañchaśikhi-*

270 Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣya* to *Br Up.*, (6.5).

271 *BG.*, Vol. I. Pt. II. p. 339 and fn. 7.; *IA.*, Vol. XIV. pp. 14-26.

Hārīti. This unquestionably supports our proposition. So the patronymic *Hārīti* (masculine form) and *Hārītiputra* are equivalent terms and the metronymic is only a homage to a celebrated lady who was the mother of the original founder of the family. This has been made all the more clear by a Chālukya inscription (*IA.*, Vol. VII p. 244). It informs us that Viṣṇuvardhana after being brought up by Viṣṇuvaṭṭa-Somayājin had his usual rites performed by him in accordance with the customs peculiar to his descent from the two sided or double *gotra* of *Mānavya* and *Hārīta* : *Sātasya cha kumārakasya Mānavyasagotra-Hārītiputra-dvipaksha-gotra-vra(kra)m-ochitāni karmṇāni kārayatvū tam = avaddha(rddha)yat* // Here *Dvi-paksha-gotra* no doubt means double *gotra*. A Hindu does not follow the rites and customs of his maternal grand-father nor does he assume his *gotra*. The masculine ending of the term *Hārīti*, though it speaks in our favour and occurs twice as such in this inscription, should better be overlooked as a mistake.

Pāṇini is a celebrated example of this system. Prof. Colebrooke informs us that his "name is a patronymic, indicating his descent from Paṇin; but, according to the *Paurāṇika* legends, he was grand-son of Devala an inspired legislator."²⁷² Prof. Goldstücker²⁷³ has shown that Pāṇini was known as *Dākṣīputra* and according to Sir Monier Monier-Williams,²⁷¹ he was *Dākṣeya*. He is said to have been an inhabitant of Śalātura²⁷⁵ in Gāndhāra and hence his

272 Prof. Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*. Vol. II. pp. 4-5.

273 Prof. Goldstücker, *Pāṇini: His Place in Sanskrit Literature*, p. 211. fn. 238.

274 Sir Monier Monier-Williams, *Indian Wisdom* 4th. Ed. p. 162.

275 *Ibid.*

name *Śālāturiya*. Prof Goldstücker has established his relationship with another grammarian, Vyāḍi²⁷⁶ or Vyāli who is a *Dākṣāyana*. To sum up, (1) Pāṇini's name is a patronymic derivative of Pāṇin meaning his descent from Pāṇin in the male line. (2) He is *Dākṣīputra* and *Dākṣeya*. (3) He is the grandson of an inspired legislator Devala. (4) He is an inhabitant of Śālātura. (5) He has very close relationship with Vyāli because he is a *Dākṣāyana*.

Dākṣīputra has been explained as 'son of the daughter of Dakṣa' as usual.²⁷⁷ But let us see what more information we can gather about him. According to the *Harivaṃśa* (1.27.49) the *Pāṇins*, from whom Pāṇini's name has been derived as a patronymic, belong to the *Viśvāmitra* group. Dakṣa and his descendants also belong to the *Atri* and *Viśvāmitra* family.²⁷⁸ There are different *Devalas* the most famous of them being the Devala of the *Kāśyapa* family²⁷⁹ who is a seer of the *Rgveda*. According to the *Harivaṃśa* (I. 27, 47) a second Devala is a son of Viśvāmitra. A third one is the father of Sannati,²⁸⁰ queen of Brahmadata. Still another is a son of Pratyuṣa²⁸¹ who is a son of Prajāpati by his wife Pravātā. Pāṇini's grandfather Devala is said to have been an inspired legislator. There is a *Devala-Smṛti* which deals with the laws of *Śuddhi* or reconversion. This sage lived on the bank of the Indus: *Sindhutire sukhāsinaṃ Devalaṃ munisattamaṃ* / (V. I). So this statement seems to

276 *Pāṇini: His Place in Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 209-211.

277 *Ibid.*, p. 211.

278 *GPNK.*, p. 82.

279 *Vedic Index*, Vol. I. p. 376; *Kūthaka Samhitā*, Dr. Schroeder's Ed. Vol. II. p. 67, (22.11).

280 *Harivaṃśa*, (1.23.25).

281 *Ibid.*, (1.3.44); *Mbh. Adiparva*. Ch. 66. V. 26.

be a fact. Pāṇini himself is placed among the *Viśvāmitras*.²⁸² There is another Pāṇini among the *Bhṛgu*s.²⁸³ We do not know whether the two are identical. They can be identical if Pāṇini would be descended from Śunaḥśepha or Devarāta. He was a son of Ṛchika, a descendant of Bhṛgu, and a nephew of Viśvāmitra. After a tragic incident he was adopted by Viśvāmitra.²⁸⁴ The inscription²⁸⁵ of the Lāṭa Chālukya Trilochana Pāla records a Brāhmaṇa donee, Mādhava by name, a *Bhārgara*, of the *Kauśika* gotra, having for his *pravaras*, *Vaiśvāmitra*, *Devarāta*, and *Audala*. But what ever it may be, since the *Pāṇins* belong to the *Viśvāmitra* group, therefore Pāṇini also belongs to this family. *Dakṣas*, *Dākṣis*, *Dākṣāyanas* and so Vyāli, *Pāṇins*, *Sālāvatis* are all members of the *Atri* or *Viśvāmitra* group. So *Dākṣīputra* is *Dākṣeya* and means a descendant of Dakṣa in the male line and not his daughter's son. The mention of the metronymic is of course a family-custom.

The story of Satyakāma Jābala²⁸⁶ throws some light on the customs of the Vedic Ṛshis. "Satyakama going to Gautama Haridrumata said to him, "I wish to become a Brahmachari with you, Sir. May I come to you, Sir?" He inquired, "Of what family are you, my friend?" Satyakama replied, "I do not know, Sir, of what family I am. I asked my mother, and she answered, 'In my youth when I had to move about much as a servant(waiting on the guests in my master's house) I conceived thee. I do not know of what family thou art. I am Jabala by name, thou art

282 *GPNK.*, pp. 90, 171.

283 *Ibid.*, p. 30.

284 See *Origin of the Chauḥāns* by the author.

285 *IA.*, Vol. XII. Text, p. 202; Translation, p. 205.

286 *Ch Up.*, (4.4).

Satyakama.' I am, therefore, Satyakama Jabala, Sir." He said to him, "No one but a true Brahman would thus speak out. Go and fetch fuel, friend I shall initiate you. You have not swerved from the truth."²⁸⁷ The story indicates that—

(1) Recitation of *gotra* was essential according to the strict law of the *Śāstras* on such occasions.

(2) It was shameful to be unable to tell one's *gotra* and it required super-human truthfulness to confess to one's ignorance.

(3) The society was patronymic—it was the *gotra* of the father alone that the son inherited and had to recite on such occasions.

The Vedic Ṛshis were generally introduced by their fathers' names. Had not the mother's name covered that of the father it would be natural to expect that the metronymics would be preceded by the proper name or *gotra* of the Ṛshi according to their custom. For example, with the suffix '*putra*' we have one name that does not admit of a meaning, according to Dr. Bühler, for it is formed by the very proper name of the mother. In the *Chhāndogya Upanishad*, (3.17.6) we have Kṛṣṇa *Devakīputra* (*Kṛṣṇāya Devakīputrāya*). Since *Devakīputra* is simply metronymic, not implying the father, the proper name has preceded it unlike those in the *Brāhmaṇa* and *Āraṇyaka*. So leaving aside the suffix '*putra*', which means son or descendant, we cannot but translate such names as Gauṭamī as the wife of Gauṭama in accordance with the explanation

287 Dr. N. K. Dutt, *Origin and Growth of Caste in India*, p. 110 fn.

given by Sāyana and Śaṅkarāchārya. In a previous Chapter in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (6.4.38), the great Arundhati has been named as "*Maitravārūṇī*." According to the *Bhāgavat Purāṇa* (3.17), her father is the great Ṛshi Kardama, mother, Devahūtī, brother, illustrious Bhāgavān Kapila and her sisters were all celebrated ladies. In short, she came of a renowned family; but she has been named in accordance with her husband's name, "*Maitravārūṇī*" or Vaśiṣṭha.

Regarding the customs of the *Brāhmaṇa* period, Dr. N. K. Dutt remarks, "The word *Gotra* to denote a family or clan is found in the *Chhandogya Upaniṣad* (IV. 4. 1), and it is probable that towards the close of the *Brahmana* period restrictions began to be set up against marriage within one's gens. The occurrence of names like Devataras Syavasayana Kasyapa (Jaim. Upan. Br. III. 40. 2) in which both the patronymic and *Gotra* names are given is indicative of a stage when *Gotra* restrictions had begun to be more rigid."²⁸⁸

This system of metronymics ending in *putra* seems to be a peculiarity of the *Yajurveda* school for the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* and the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* both belong to the *Yajurveda*. This agrees well with the customs and traditions of the Chālukyas. In the *Rewah State Gazetter* (front page), the Bāghela Mahārāja who belongs to the Chālukya clan has been described as following *Yajurveda*, *Kātyāyana Sūtra* and *Madhyandin Sākhā*. Both Manu and Hārīta, as we shall presently see, were great seers of the *Yajurveda* specially, and the customs of the Bāghela Mahārāja might have continued in his family from the ancient past.

In the case of the Guhilots,²⁸⁹ we have the combination of these three things again :

- (1) They are disciples of Hārīta.
- (2) They follow the *Yajurveda*.
- (3) They are *Guhilaputras*.

They are of *Vaijavāpa gotra* and the name also appears in the list of the first *Vaṃśa* of the *Bṛhadāranyaka Upanishad* (2. 6. 2). It might be that *Guhila* or *Gobhila* was originally a feminine form (*Gobhilā*). The patronymic forms are formed by adding *taddhita* pratyayas and seldom by adding *putra* after the name of the father. If my observations are found correct, then it may be pointed out that *Guhilaputra* of *Gobhilaputra* is *Gobhilāputra* and means *Gobhilānyaya*, *Gobhilagotra*, or the family of Gobhila according to their own inscriptions. *Vaijavāpa* belongs to the *Atris* and Gobhila to the *Kāśyapas*.*

The Chālukyas were Brāhmaṇic in origin and followed the family-customs of their fore-fathers. So they being descendants and followers of a particular system are always called *Hārītīputras*, that is, descended from the celebrated lady Hārītī or wife of Hārīta. But we have some Śata-vāhanas and Ikshākus having names with metronymics ending in *putra* with different feminine stems. The case is different with them. We can reasonably believe that in the case of the disciples alone, the feminine stems of these metronymics mean "*Gurumātā* or God-mother"—of course a peculiarity of a section of the Brāhmaṇas following the *Yajurveda* and their disciples. With the substitution of the

289 JASBNS., Vol. V. pp. 167-187.

* We shall discuss the Origin of the Guhilots in a separate volume.

Purohita (priest) of one *gotra* by that of another, the metonymic of the king, who would get it from the *purohita* and think himself as if the son of his wife, changed. That it was a peculiarity of the *Yajurveda* school may be inferred from the fact that not all but a few royal families of the time used it. Its preponderance in the Deccan is due to the *Yajurveda* being specially popular in the Deccan. But whether it was a special custom of a section of the Brāhmaṇas following the *Yajurveda* or a group of Brāhmaṇa families following any of the *Vedas*, there is no doubt that it was a custom of a section of the Brāhmaṇas as is indicated from the interpretations of Sāyana and Śaṅkara. It is also found to be used by the Buddhists and is in all probability a vestigial custom with them.

Now let us see who is Hārīta. We have Hārīta as a *Gotrakāra Rshi* among the *Āṅgīrās*. Mr. Chentsal Rao in the *Gotrapravarānivandhakadamna*²⁹⁰ groups him as a *Kshatriya-Brāhmaṇa*, that is to say, he was a Kshatriya and became a Brāhmaṇa and attached himself to the '*Āṅgīrās*.' He was a prince of the Solar dynasty. Dr. N. K. Dutt writes, "Among others promoted to Brahmanhood from the Kshatriya rank according to the Puranas may be mentioned the names of Garga, who was born in the line of Bharata (Vishnu Pur. IV. 19); of Mudgala, who was a son of Bharmyasva of the Lunar dynasty (Bhag. Pur. IX. 21); and of Harita, son of Yuvanasha of the Solar dynasty (Vayu, 88; Vishnu, IV. 3)."²⁹¹ Mr. Pargiter²⁹² from different *Purāṇas* is also of the same opinion. The *Bhāgavat Purāṇa* gives a

290 *GPNK.*, Introduction, pp. iii, xii.

291 *Origin and growth of Caste in India*, p. 48.

292 Mr. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 93, 246.

long list of the Solar dynasty and places Hārīta thus (9.4) : Brahmā—Marīchi (= Kalā, daughter of Maharṣi Kardama and Devahuti and sister to Kapila and Arundhati. Devahuti again was the daughter of Svayambhuva-Manu and sister to Priyavrata and Uttānapāda)—Kāśyapa (= Aditi, daughter of king Dakṣa)—Vivasvān(= Saṁjñā, daughter of Prajāpati Viśvakarmā) — Manu(= Śraddhā) — Ikṣāku — Vikukṣi or Śaśāda—Purañjaya, Indravāha or Kakuṭstha—Anena— Pr̥thu— Viśvagandhi— Chandra—Yuvanāśva—Śrāvasta—Vṛhadaśva—Kuvalayāśva or Dhundhumāra—Dṛdhāśva—Haryaśva—Nikumbha—Vahulāśva—Kṛpāśva—Senajit—Yuvanāśva—Māndhātā(= Vindumatī, daughter of king Śaśavindu)—Ambarīṣa—Yuvanāśva—Hārīta. We find both Manu and Hārīta in the list. He was a '*gotrapravar-taka Ṛshi*' and in the *Hārīta gotra* the two sets of *Pravaras*²⁹³ are : (1) *Āṅgīrasa, Āmbarīsha, Yauvanāśva*. (2) *Māndhātā, Āmbarīsha, Yauvanāśva*. Leaving aside the name of Maharshi Āṅgīrā, who is the '*Guru*' of the *Hārītas*, the remaining names belong to the Solar dynasty in close relation to Hārīta. There is ample proof in the *Purāṇas* that he became a sage and attached himself to the *Āṅgīrās*. The *Bhāgavat Purāṇa* describes the family as the best of the Solar dynasty (9.5).

In the *Vedas* Hārīta has been mentioned as a great seer and law-giver. In the *Bṛhadāranyaka Upanishad* we have him mentioned as Prince Hārīta²⁹⁴ (Kumāra-Hārīta) and described as a seer. He is included in the *Vaṁśa* of the *Upanishad* (2. 6. 3) denoting that he was founder of a line of this branch of spiritual knowledge. He appears again and again in this *Upanishad*. He has been mentioned as a

seer of eugenics and sexual science.²⁹⁵ In the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*²⁹⁶ we have Kṛṣṇa-Hārīta. Sāyana says that he was a descendant of Hārīta and was black—so his name was Kṛṣṇa-Hārīta. Hārīta's opinion has been cited in the *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya*.²⁹⁷ He has been quoted by Āpastamba,²⁹⁸ and Dr. Weber says²⁹⁹ that a lawyer was always called a Hārīta. This shows his authority as a law-giver. We have a *Hārīta Samhitā*, a *Vṛddha Hārīta Samhitā* and a few years back a *Hārīta Dharma Śāstra*³⁰⁰ was discovered. Hārīta therefore is a great figure in the *Yajurveda*. Amongst the notable descendants of Hārīta may be mentioned Rāmānuja the great Vaiṣṇava savant.

That the Chālukyas belong to the Solar dynasty has been hinted by a Vedāntic work composed during the reign of the early Chālukyas of Bādāmi, as shown by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar. He says, "At the end of a work entitled *Samkshepaśārīraka*, the author Sarvajñātman, the pupil of Sureśvara, who himself was a pupil of the great Śaṅkarāchārya, states that he composed it while "the prosperous king of the Kshatriya race, the Āditya (sun) of the race of Manu whose orders were never disobeyed, was ruling over the earth." This description would apply with propriety to

295 *Br Up.*, (6.4.4).

296 *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, Dr. Keith's Ed., p. 138, (3.2.6.1); Translation, p. 256. See also fn.

297 *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya*, Dr. R. L. Mitra's Ed., p. 188, (14.18). See also preface, p. 5. fn. 1.

298 *Āpastamba-Dharmasūtram*; (*Bib. Sanskrita*—No. 15.), p. 97, (1.4.13.11); p. 130, (1.6.18.2); p. 138, (1.6.19.12); pp. 183, 186, (1.10.28.5 and 16); p. 193, (1.10.29.16).

299 Quoted by Dr. Keith in *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, p. 256. fn. 1.

300 *IA.*, Vol. XXV. p. 147.

such a king as Ādityavarman, Vikramāditya I., Vinayāditya, Vijayāditya, or Vikramāditya II. of the early Chālukya dynasty, since they were very powerful princes and were “Ādityas of the race of Manu.” For the Mānavya race to which they belonged may be understood as “the race of Manu.” But Śaṅkarāchārya is said to have lived between Śaka 710 and 742, wherefore his grand-pupil must have flourished about the year 800 of that era, while Vikramāditya II., the latest of the four, ceased to reign in 669 Śaka. Supposing then that the date assigned to Śaṅkarāchārya is correct, the king meant by Sarvajñātman must be one of those placed by the Miraj grant between Kīrtivarman II. and Tailapa. He may be Vikramāditya, the third prince after Kīrtivarman II., but if the description is considered hardly applicable to a minor chief, Śaṅkarāchārya’s date must be pushed backwards so as to place the pupil of his pupil in the reign of one of the five princes of the early Chālukya dynasty mentioned above.”³⁰¹

There is a controversy about the date of Śaṅkarāchārya, but it would be out of place to go into it here. The evidences and arguments put forward by Prof. Amulya Charan Vidya-bhushan* are very strong and it is more than probable that the great savant was born in 686 A.D. or thereabout and lived in the beginning of the eighth century. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar has overlooked another point in his observation on the time of Sarvajñātman. Śaṅkarāchārya died an early death and his disciple Sureśvara was of the same age with him if not older—most probably he was older. So Sarvajñātman was not very far off in time from Śaṅkarāchārya, and we think that he referred to the Chālukya king Vijayā-

301 *EHD.*, p. 138.

* *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, Vol. XV., pp. 134-165.

dityā (A.D. 696-733) or Vikramāditya II. (A.D. 733-747) by his phrase “Āditya of the race of Manu.” That this phrase refers to the Solar dynasty may be still further clearly inferred by the statement of the *Bhāgavat Purāṇa* where the Solar dynasty has been described under *Mānava Vaṃśa* (9.1.7)—dynasty of Manu or race of Manu. Here is then a contemporary statement that the Chālukyas were held to be of the Solar dynasty during the reign of the early Chālukyas of Bādāmi, and as it is disinterested it can be relied upon.

Mr. Vaidya has brought to light some evidence to prove that this tradition of their origin is also preserved among the Mārāṭhās of even modern days. He says, “Now strangely enough the Chālukyas or Chalakes who are still one of the leading Maratha families are still assigned to the Suryavamśa, see the noted *pathi* issued from Kolhapur and called *Khātravamśasāgara or Marāṭhā Sāhāṇṇava Kulo*. Now another Maratha family viz., the Kadams who are plainly the Kadambas of ancient inscriptions assigned in them to the same *Mānavya* gotra as the Chālukyas (Ind. Ants VI page 24) are also assigned to the Suryavamśa in the above book of the modern Marathas. These facts prove that these 96 families’ traditions of the Marathas are not imaginary productions but are supported by inscriptional records which go back to the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. According to both of them the Chālukyas and the Kadambas are Solar race Kshatriyas.....”³⁰²

So the Chālukyas are the descendants of that group of the Aryans who trace their origin from the Solar dynasty of the ancient literature.

VII

There have been different Chālukya dynasties ruling at different times in different places, the earliest being that of Bādāmi. That the Eastern dynasty of Veṅgī is a direct off-shoot of the Bādāmi dynasty is beyond doubt. The dynasty ruling at Kalyān claims its origin from the rulers of Bādāmi. But it is not undisputed, for this claim has been questioned by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and Dr. A. S. Altekar. Again, there is a dispute about the original place of the Chālukyas of Aṇahilapāṭaka. Though none has questioned their common origin except Mr. Vaidya it will not be out of place to discuss it here. Let us take the case of the Kalyān dynasty first.

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar says, "There must have been several branches of the Chālukya family, and it is even a question whether Tailapa sprang from the main branch. I am inclined to believe that he belonged to quite a collateral and unimportant branch, and that the main branch became extinct. For, the princes of the earlier dynasty always traced their descent to Hārīti and spoke of themselves as belonging to the Mānavya race; while these later Chālukyas traced their pedigree to Satyāśraya only, and those two names do not occur in their inscriptions except in the Miraj grant and its copies, where an effort is made to begin at the beginning. But evidently the writer of that grant had not sufficient materials at his command, since, as above stated, he places six princes only between Kīrtivarman II. and Tailapa. There is little question that

there was no continuity of tradition. The titles Jagadekamalla, Tribhuvanamalla, &c., which the later Chālukyas assumed mark them off distinctively from princes of the earlier dynasty, who had none like them."³⁰³

The rulers of this dynasty have traced their origin from Satyāśraya. As '*Mānavya gotra*' and '*Hārītiputra*' indicate descent from them and denote their *gotra*, to be a descendant of Satyāśraya automatically establishes relationship with Manu and Hārīta. Bilhaṇa in his *Vikramāṅka Deva Charita* has supported it. About the line of descent, it is not correct that it was first mentioned in the Mirāj grant and its copies. We find it first in the work of poet Raṇṇa,³⁰⁴ the Court-poet of the founder of the dynasty—Ahavamalladeva Nurmādi Tailapa II. (A.D. 973-997). It is more than probable that his version was quoted in the Kauthem, Jevur, Nilgund and Mirāj grants. There is of course omission of some three or four kings, but they belonged to the darkest days of the family and were most probably forgotten.* It is true that the favourite epithets of the early Chālukyas "*Mānavyasagotre Hārītiputrah*" have not been so often quoted by the princes of the Kalyān dynasty. But we must remember that the rise of the early Chālukyas began during the golden days of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā school and they were all very orthodox people delighting in intricate Brāhminical performances; and so the question of *gotra* and other religious and ritual technicalities were important questions of the time and to

303 *EHD.*, pp. 136-137. Dr. Fleet also is of the same opinion.

304 *IA.*, Vol. XL. pp. 43-45.

* "This was the darkest period in the history of the Chālukya dynasty, and probably no correct account of the succession was kept." *EHD.*, p. 136.

themselves. They were accordingly carefully mentioned in their inscriptions. But during the rise of the Chālukyas of Kalyān and Pāṭan at the end of the tenth century, Pūrvamīmāṃsā had almost faded away and Uttaramīmāṃsā was making its headway. The Jaina faith also became more prominent again and many of the then Chālukya kings were much influenced by Jaina saints,—nay, some of them were devoted Jainas. The kings of the Kalyān dynasty were mostly Śaivas and the Śaivas do not care so much for orthodox technicalities as the Vaiṣṇavas. So *gotra* and dogmas of religious schools and ritual performances were neither so important nor were they so often mentioned. The names of the two dynasties, too, have resemblances. We have Vikramāditya, Jayasimha, and Vijayāditya as common names. The antiquarians also in numbering the *Vikramādityas* have given unconscious support to the claim of the continuity of blood in these two dynasties. We have no first Vikramāditya or first Taila ruling in the Kalyān dynasty. There is no direct or indirect evidence that the dynasty of Bādāmi became extinct. So we do not think that the changes in the titles of the kings should be so seriously taken. The titles of the early kings generally ended in '*Āśraya*' such as *Janāśraya*, *Jayāśraya*, *Satyāśraya* etc. The last name was the original one of the series and indicated descent from Satyāśraya of the earlier age. Others are imitations. So substitution of '*Āśraya*' by '*Malla*' can not mean that they had no continuity of blood; and this becomes all the more clear when we find '*Mallas*' such as '*Yuddhamalla*' in the Veṅgī dynasty, whose origin from the Bādāmi dynasty is beyond question. The Kauthem grant records Vinayāditya as Yuddhamalla. There are '*Mallas*' in the Chālukya dynasty

of the Dekhani Sapādalaksha described in the *Pampā-bhārata*, some of whom fought for the Rāshtrakūṭas against the Parihārs. But the names of the two dynasties have no resemblances and the dynasty of Sapādalaksha is not known to have any relationship with that of Bādāmi. Dr. Altekar too questions the claim of the Kalyān dynasty. Over and above the reasons mentioned by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, he says, "It seems that the ancestors of Taila were too insignificant; for even the title 'Rājan,' which in our times did not convey invariably even the status of a feudatory, is not given to them by their powerful and illustrious descendants. It is therefore extremely unlikely that the daughter of Kṛshṇa, whom Ayyaṇdeva had married, could have been a daughter of Kṛshṇa II of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty, especially since neither Ayyaṇdeva nor Kṛshṇa is given even the courtesy title 'Rājan.' The place where they were living is also unknown; it might perhaps be suggested that since Taila was a son-in-law of the Chedi ruler Lakshmaṇa, and since the northern parts of the Rāshtrakūṭa dominions first passed under his control, he may have been living some where in the northern portion of the state of Hyderabad."³⁰⁵ The inscriptions that connect the Kalyān dynasty with that of Bādāmi describe Taila's ancestors as ruling princes. So, if the title was not given to Ayyaṇa and Kṛshṇa in the inscription, it cannot be so seriously doubted. Of course there is no evidence proving that the Kṛshṇa in question was Kṛshṇa II. of the Rāshtrakūṭas, for there might have been so many *Kṛshṇas* at that time of minor importance other than Kṛshṇa II. Poet Raṇṇa also does not mention any thing about it. But

the testimony quoted by Dr. Altekar goes not to prove but to disprove the insignificant origin of Taila. He was not a son-in-law* of the Chedi ruler Lakshmaṇa, but his grand-son. He himself married Jākavvā, daughter of the Rāṣṭra-kūṭa prince Bhammaha. These two matrimonial alliances on the part of the son and grand-son of Ayyaṇa show that his pedigree was not so insignificant. Probably he was a petty ruler but was highly respected for his blue blood; and blue blood alone without any kingdom counts even in the twentieth century. About Dr. Altekar's last point, of course there is nothing to enlighten us as to where the ancestors of Taila were living or ruling. But we do not as well know wherefrom the mighty Taila II. himself ruled. The capital of Dantidurga, Kṛṣṇa I., Govinda II., Dhruva and Govinda III. is also not yet satisfactorily known. It must be remembered in conclusion that it was not Kīrti-varman II., the last ruler of the Bādāmi dynasty, from whom the Kalyān dynasty claims their descent, but from an younger son of his grand-father Vijayāditya. They were perhaps ruling as petty princes before the extinction of the main line. We know nothing of Kīrtivarman's descendants. If the main line was extinct the royal dignity passed to the predecessors of Taila II. So no motive can be imputed to the Kauthem, Jevur, Nilgund and Mirāj grants. The testimony of poet Raṇṇa from whom they were copied seems to be reliable. "There is thus reason to think that Taila II. really was a descendant of the former family of Western Chalukyas who preceded the Rāṣṭrakūṭas."³⁰⁶

* This error of Dr. Altekar is either a printing mistake or at most an oversight for he has correctly put down the relations in pp. 126-127 of his book.

There has been difference of opinion about the Chālukyas of Aṇahilapāṭaka. The Gujarāt chroniclers say³⁰⁷ that they came from Kalyāṇakaṭaka in Kanauj. Mr. Forbes³⁰⁸ and Mr. Elphinstone³⁰⁹ disbelieve them and say that they came from Kalyān. Dr. Bühler³¹⁰ and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar³¹¹ believe them to have come from the north. Pandit Bhagvānlāl Indrajī seems to accept the opinion of Dr. Bühler. He says, "No materials are available to trace the original seat of the family or to show when and whence they came to Gujarāt. The balance of probability is, as Dr. Bühler holds, that Mūlarāja's ancestors came from the north."³¹² But his observation about this Kalyāṇakaṭaka elsewhere is also important. It is stated by the Gujarāt chroniclers that the fore-fathers of the founder of this dynasty conquered Aṇahilapāṭaka in 696 A.D. Pandit Bhagvānlāl Indrajī says in that connection: "It is hard to say how much truth underlies this tradition. In the seventh century not Chaulukya but Pāla kings flourished in Kanoj. No place of importance called Kalyāṇakaṭaka is recorded in the Kanoj territory. And though there was a southern Chālukya kingdom with its capital at Kalyān, its establishment at Kalyān was about the middle of the eleventh not in the seventh century. Further the known Dakhan Chālukya lists contain no king named Bhuvāḍa,

307 *BG.*, Vol. I. Pt. I. p. 150.

308 Mr. A. K. Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, (Mr. H. G. Rawlinson's Ed.), Vol. I. p. 36.

309 The Hon. M. Elphinstone, *The History of India*, 7th. Ed. pp. 233, 241.

310 *IA.*, Vol. VI. pp. 182-183.

311 *JBBRAS.*, Vol. XXI. pp. 427-428.

312 *BG.*, Vol. I. Pt. I. p. 156

unless he be the great Chālukya king Vijayāditya (A.D. 696-733) also called Bhuvanāsraya, who warred in the north and was there imprisoned but made his escape. The inference is that the author of the Ratnamālā, knowing the Solāṅkis originally belonged to a city called Kalyān, and knowing that a Chālukya king named Bhuvāḍa had defeated the Chāvaḍās may have called Bhuvāḍa king of Kalyāṇakaṭaka and identified Kalyāṇakaṭaka with a country so well known to Purāṇic fame as Kanyākubja. This view is supported by the absence in the Prabandhachintāmaṇi and other old records of any mention of an invasion from Kanoj. It is possible that in A.D. 696 some king Bhuvāḍa of the Gujarāt Chālukyas, of whom at this time branches were ruling as far north as Kaira, invaded the Chāvaḍās under Jayaśekhara.”³¹³

Dr. Bühler believes that Rāji, father of Mūlarāja, came from Kanauj. He says, “The question is now where Rāji’s home and kingdom was. The Gujarāt chroniclers state that in 752 Vikrama, Bhūrāja, Bhūyāḍa, or Bhūvaḍa (*i.e.* Bhūpati), king of Kalyāṇakaṭaka, in Kānoj, held Gujarāt and destroyed Jayaśekhara; that after him Karṇāditya, Chandrāditya, Somāditya, and finally Bhuvanāditya occupied the throne of Kalyāṇa, the last being Rāji’s father. Mr. Forbes, Mr. Elphinstone, and others have identified this Kalyāṇa with the capital of the Dekhaṇī Chālukyas, and have assumed that the Gujarātīs are in error. I must confess that until very lately I have been of the same opinion. But a careful reconsideration of the question inclines me to side now with the native writers. The fact that Kalyāṇa in the Dekhaṇ was for more than eight centuries a Chālukya

capital, and that no famous town of this name has been traced in Kānoj, is no doubt a strong argument in favour of the European historians. It becomes all the stronger by the repeated statements of the Dekhaṇī Chālukyas in their inscriptions that they conquered Gujarāt, and by the fact that a grant of a Chālukya king Vijayarāja dated Saṃvat (*i.e.*, probably Śāka Saṃvat) 394, or 472-473 A.D., has been found, which proves that that king held the Bharuch districts. But the arguments in favour of the native statement appear still stronger. Firstly, the form of the family name used by the Dekhaṇīs slightly differs from that given by the Gujarātīs. The latter always call themselves Chaulukyas (whence Solunkī or Solankī), and the latter* are named now Chālukyas or Chalukyas, now Chalikyas, or even Chalkyas. Hence their modern descendants are called Chalke. I do not doubt that Chaulukya and Chālukya are only dialectic forms of the same name. But it is inexplicable why the founder of the Pāṭhaṇ dynasty should call himself *Chaulukika* if he came direct from Kalyāṇa, where the form *Chālukya* was used. On the other hand, the difference would be easily explained if he was descended from a northern branch of the family, separated for a long time from its southern brethren. Secondly, the *kuladevatā*, or family diety, of the Dekhaṇī Chālukyas is Viṣṇu, while the Gujarātī Chaulukyas are Śaivas. Thirdly, the cognizance of the former is the *boar*, and that of the latter, as grant No. 1 shows, *the bull*, Nandi. Fourthly, the names of the kings from Bhūpati to Rāji do not agree with those of the *vaṃśāvali* of the Dekhaṇī inscriptions. Fifthly, it seems certain that the relations between Mūlarāja and his Dekhaṇī clans-

* Former?

men were anything but friendly. After his accession to the throne he had to encounter an army under Bārap, sent by Tailapa of Telingana. Sixthly, Mūlarāja, as well as his successors, settled in Gujarāt numerous colonies of Brahmans, who down to the present day are called Audichyas, 'Northerners'. He gave to them Siṃhapura or Sihor, in Eastern Kāthiawād, Stambhatirtha or Khambay, and numerous villages in the country between the Baṇās and the Sābhar-matī. Now, as a general rule, Indian kings, on making new conquests, import people from their native homes if they do so at all. If, therefore, Mūlarāja had come from the Dekhaṇ, Gujarāt would have been filled with Telingana and Karṇāṭa Brahmans. If, as the chronicles say, he came from the north, the introduction of the Audichya Brahmans is at once explained. This last point is, in my opinion, one of the strongest arguments in favour of the native statement, and least likely to be reconciled with Elphinstone's theory. Several of the other points above mentioned *may* be explained away. Thus it *may* be contended that Mūlarāja changed his religion and his crest on succeeding to the Chāuḍā throne, and accepted those of his mother's family. But though the adoption of a new diety is not a matter of great importance for a Rajput,—because, as I was told in Rajputana, a rājā ought not to be exclusive in the point of worship, but favour all the various sects among his subjects,—and though the adoption of new armorial bearings may have occurred in other cases, still it would be desirable to have some proof (which has hitherto not been furnished) that Śiva and his Nandi were affected by the Chāuḍās. I must leave the reader to estimate the weight of each of the other arguments for himself. But in concluding this discussion I will add that the existence of a Chaulukya kingdom in Kānoj and

the existence of another Kalyāṇa are not so very incredible. There is a gap in the history of Kānoj from the times of Yaśovarman, in the beginning of the eighth century, down to the end of the tenth century, when the Rāṭhōrs appear as its lords. This gap very nearly corresponds to the period assigned to Bhūpati and his successors, as the former is stated to have reigned in 695-6 A.D., and Mūlarāja's accession is placed in 941-42 A.D. Further, the Dekhaṇī Chālukyas assert that their ancestors came from the north, and ruled in Ajodhyā and other towns, and from the *Gazetteer of the N. W. Provinces* it appears that Chālukya Rajputs are found in the Kānoj districts to the present day. As regards the existence of another Kalyāṇa, it ought to be borne in mind that the name is by no means uncommon. Two towns of this name are well known and of great antiquity, viz. Kalyāṇa near Bombay, the *Kalliene* of the Greeks, and Kalyāṇa in the Dekhaṇ. Less noted Kalyāṇapurās occur frequently on the map of India. Considering all these circumstances, I adopt the statement of the Gujarātīs, and take Mūlarāja to have been the son of a king who ruled in Kānyakubja and who reconquered Gujarāt, which had been an old dependency of his paternal empire."¹¹

Dr. Bühler's arguments are not strong enough to establish the northern origin of the Gujarāt Chālukyas. It can be said against his views that the form of the family-name '*Chaulukika*' is not inexplicable. We have already examined the terms *Chaulukika* and *Chaulukya* in detail. The form *Chaulukika* seems to be the effect of an over-zeal on the part of the plate-maker in Sanskrit grammar. The difference is only a difference of '*Pratyaya*' used to denote

the same meaning—i.e. 'Śṇika' for 'Śṇya'. As for his second point, it is not true that the family deity of the Deccan Chālukyas is exclusively Viṣṇu. They have always stated that they are protected by Kārtikeya, blessed by the goddess Kauśikī and have seven divine mothers as guardians. These gods and goddesses are of the family of Śiva according to mythology. Vikramāditya I. of the early family is known to have been a Śaiva.³¹⁵ The Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Maṅgaleśa is a Śaiva grant. Another Chālukya inscription* says that Pulakeśi II. was a *parama-Māheśvara* or Śaiva in faith. But it is better to call them cosmopolitan in their worship. There has been of course a change in the form of the cognizance. That the Gujarāt Chālukyas were Śaivas as noted by Dr. Bühler is beyond doubt. We learn from the *Prabandha Chintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga that "though Kumārapāla was, no doubt, a conscientious follower of the Jain discipline, he managed to combine with it a lurking regard for Śiva, the family god of the Chaulukyas of Gujarāt."³¹⁶ It must be kept in mind that Rājī came to Pāṭan in disguise and that Mūlarāja captured the throne with the help of the ministers of the ex-rulers. The god Somanātha or Śiva has an unique position in the mind of the people of the locality and a substantial portion of the treasury was obtained from this temple. The influence

315 BG., Vol. I. Pt. II. p. 361; Mr. H. Cousens *The Chālukyan Architecture*, p. 3. Vijayāditya "built the great temple of the god Śiva under the name of Vijayeśvara, now known as Saṃgameśvara, at Paṭṭadakal." BG., Vol. I. Pt. II. p. 371.

* *Verhandlungen Des VII. Internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses*, 1886. pp. 230, 235.

316 Merutuṅga, *Prabandha Chintāmaṇi*, Translation by Mr. C. H. Tawney, Preface, p. XIV.

of Somanātha is also evident from the copper plates of the Lāṭa Chālukyas, whose cognizance was Śiva himself.³¹⁷ Moreover, there is reason to believe that Mūlarāja had to adapt himself entirely to the local condition as his security depended upon the good will of his new subjects. So there is nothing to question if Mūlarāja adopted the bull as his cognizance. About the settlement of the Audichya Brāhmaṇas, there is a story connected with it.³¹⁸ It is said that he repented of his former deeds in his mature age, and as a penance, these Brāhmaṇas were given land. He might not have been on good terms with Tailapa to bring Brāhmaṇas from his kingdom; but the question did not perhaps arise at all. He had nobody from his own land to advise him. The courtiers and Brāhmaṇas surrounding him were all northerners. The pious men he could obtain for consultation were perhaps all inhabitants of the surrounding *Tirthas*. Moreover, many of the kings of the Deccan of those days settled colonies of Brāhmaṇas from the north. So there is nothing to be astonished at if a southern king who founded a principality in the north gave lands to Brāhmaṇas from the north.

It is true that the names of the kings from Bhūpati to Rāji have not yet been found to agree with any known list of the Deccan Chālukyas. Kalyāṇakaṭaka cannot be Kalyāṇ of the Kalyāṇ dynasty. Kalyāṇ was founded by Someśvara I.,³¹⁹ father of Vikramāditya VI. in the middle of the eleventh century and the capital had perhaps no existence at the time of Taila and his successors before Someś-

317 *I.A.*, Vol. XII. p. 196.

318 Mr. Forbes, *Rās Mālā* (Major J. W. Watson's Ed.), pp. 47-49.

319 *V Ch.*, Canto. II. V. 1. Introduction, p. 28; *EHD.*, p. 143; *I.A.*, Vol. VIII. p. 105; *BG.*, Vol. I. Pt. II. pp. 215, 427-428, 440,

vara I. But Mūlarāja (A.D. 961-996) ascended the throne twelve years before Taila II. (A.D. 973-997). So his father Rāji cannot have come from Kalyān and Kalyāṇakaṭaka cannot be identified with that city. But Mūlarāja's political relationship with Taila II. has been misunderstood. The idea of an ill feeling between these two contemporary rulers has been supposed wholly on the assumption that Bārappa who attacked Pāṭan was a general of Taila II. It is said that after the end of the Chāpotkaṭa rule in Pāṭan, Gujarāt was rendered an object of ambition to the surrounding princes and the Chauhān ruler Vighraharāja³²⁰ of Sapādalakṣa or Śākambharī (Sambar) and Bārappa, general of Taila II., simultaneously attacked the new kingdom of Mūlarāja. We are not concerned at present with the details and result of this strife, but the contemporary evidences unanimously prove that Mūlarāja prevailed in the end. It is said that Bārappa lost his life and his army was defeated with great slaughter. "...The statement of the Gujarat chronicles that Bārappa was defeated and killed by Mūlarāja, seemed improbable to Bhagvanlal and Jackson. But the statement of the *Dvyāśraya* that Mūlarāja and his son Cāmuṇḍa crossed the river Ścabhravatī (modern Sabarmati), the southern boundary of his dominions, and, entering Lāṭa, defeated and killed Bārappa, seems to gain some support from the Surat grant of Trilocanapāla mentioned above. This inscription describes Goggirāja, Bārappa's son and successor, as the 'first home of the family.....who relieved his own land like a greater Viṣṇu, the land that was seized upon by powerful enemies like demons'. It may well

³²⁰ *DHNI.*, Vol. II. p. 937; Mr. Forbes, *Rās Mālā* (Mr. Rawlinson's Ed.) Vol. I. p. 52.

be that the demon-like enemies of this passage were the Caulukyas, who defeated his father and seized Lāṭa, 'his own land'."³²¹ Mr. Forbes evidently took the above narrative from Merutuṅga's *Prabandha Chintāmaṇi*. Someśvara's *Kīrtikaumudī* also supports it :

Lāteśvarasya Senānyamasāmānyaparākramah |
Durvāraṃ Bārapaṇi hatvā hāstikaṃ jaḥ samagrahīt | |

Canto II. (*Narendravāṇśavarṇanaṇi*.) V. 3.

Merutuṅga says that Bārapa is a "general of the king of the land of Tilaṅga, who is named Tailapa."³²² Someśvara simply states that he was the general of the king of Lāṭa. "But the brother-poet and contemporary of Someśvara, the Jaina chronicler, Arasiṃha, gives the following, on the subject, in his poem of *Sukṛta-Saṅkīrtana* :—

Vijitya yaḥ saṇyati Kanyakubjamahībhujo-
Bārapadaṇḍanātham |

Jahāra hastiprakaraṇi karāgrāttatkārasaṇ—

dīpitapauruṣāgnīm | |

'Who, having conquered in battle the general Bārapa, of the king of Kanyākubja, wrenched the tribute of elephants from his hand (*whose*) fire of valour blazed up by that act.' Canto II., V. 5."³²³ So the statements are conflicting and we have not yet any grant of Bārapa himself. The historians have accepted the statement of Merutuṅga and are of opinion that the king of Teliṅgana is no other than Taila II. Dr. H. C. Ray is of opinion that "the statement of the *Sukṛta-saṅkīrtana*,

321 *DHNI.*, Vol. II. pp. 939-940.

322 Merutuṅga, *Prabandha Chintāmaṇi* (Translation by Mr. Tawney), p. 24.

323 *IA.*, Vol. XII. p. 199. For Arasiṃha read Arisimpha.

that Tailapa was a general of the king of Kanauj, is apparently a mistake."³²⁴ Tailapa is evidently a printing mistake for Bārapa. But we think that Merutuṅga is wrong in mentioning Tailapa as the king of Teliṅgana and overlord of Bārapa, and but for the name of Tailapa, the versions of Merutuṅga, Someśvara and Arisimha are reconcilable. "The demise of the direct line of the Chowras rendered Goozerat an object for the ambition of more than one of the surrounding princes"³²⁵ evidently in the very beginning of Mūlarāja's reign. Mūlarāja ascended the throne in about 961 A.D., twelve years before Taila II. (A.D. 973). So Taila was not a reigning monarch in the beginning of Mūlarāja's reign and life-time of Bārapa. On the otherhand, the inscription of Trilochana Pāla proves the relationship of Bārapa with Kānyakubja and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The grant states "In Kanyākubja (Kanauj), O great King Chaulukya, after having taken (in marriage) the daughter of a Rāshtrakūṭa, do thou, for the sake of the welfare (of the people), raise progeny on her. Thus there may here arise from a Chaulukya (i.e. from a palm-born being) a truly extensive race of Kshatriyas, far-spreading like river streams (coming) from a mountain'."³²⁶ We also know that Kṛṣṇa III. made the last Rāshtrakūṭa attack on the Pratihāra empire of Kanauj: "Kṛṣṇa then marched northwards and defeated the Chedis, though his mother and wife had

324 *DHNI.*, Vol. II. p. 937. fn. 6. See also p. 938.—"He (Bārapa) was therefore a contemporary of Taila II, and must have been appointed by him as his feudatory to guard the 'Baroda gap,' one of the main gateways to the South."

325 *Rās Mālā* (Mr. Rawlison's Ed.), Vol. I. p. 52.

326 *JRAS.*, 1905, pp. 23-24.

been born in that family. The forts of Kālanjara and Chitrakūṭa, situated in the very heart of Chandella country, were occupied by the Rāshtrakūṭa army, and the Gurjara-Pratihāra emperor lost all hope of capturing them. An inscription, recently published, confirms the testimony of the Deoli plates. This inscription was found at Jura in the Maihar State of the Baghelkhand Agency. It is written upon a stone and contains a eulogy of Kṛṣṇa III in Canarese. That a Canarese eulogy of Kṛṣṇa should be discovered in Baghelkhand can be explained only on the assumption that the claim to the conquest of Chitrakūṭa and Kālanjara is well founded. The Rāshtrakūṭas continued to hold these forts for about ten years; they were reconquered by the Chandella king Yaśovarman some time before 953 A.D."³²⁷ We also know that Lāṭa was a feudatory state of the Rāshtrakūṭas, ruled by princes of that family upto the last decade of the ninth century. Subsequently it was ruled by the Brahmāvaloka house "ruling under direct imperial supervision over the Kapadwanj Kaira area, which was formerly being governed by the Gujrat Rāshtrakūṭas."³²⁸ "In the time also of the next ruler Indra III we find Gujrat being directly controlled from Malkhed."³²⁹ We also know that Indra III. invaded the Pratihāra empire "and the defeat of Mahīpāla I (c. 914-43 A.D.) soon after A.D. 915 had very serious consequences for the fortunes of the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire."³³⁰ "Though the Pratabgarh inscription of Mahendrapāla II, dated in 945-46 A.D., proves that the Pratihāras recovered their hold for some time in Malwa, there is enough evidence

327 *RT.*, p. 113.

329 *Ibid.*, p. 98.

330 *DHNI.*, Vol. II. p. 934.

328 *Ibid.*, p. 98.

to indicate that their hold on Gujarat and Kathiawar grew precarious. The Karhad plates of Kṛṣṇa III (c. 940-56 A.D.) seem to show a renewal of Rāṣṭrakūṭa pressure on these provinces in the reign of his father Amoghavarṣa III Vaddiga (c. 934-40 A.D.).³³¹ Evidently it is quite probable that Bārāpa was a general of Kṛṣṇa III., related to him by marriage, might have accompanied him during his expedition to the Kanauj empire and probably took active part in the conquest of Chitrakūṭa and Kālāñjara. Subsequently, he was perhaps sent to recover Gujarāt or was appointed governor there. The inscription of Trilochana Pāla not only states that "Bārāpa was born in the family of Chaulukya, that he was related by marriage to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa, Mahārāja of Kanyākubja," but also that "he *obtained* Lāṭadeśa, not by conquest," but "by his wise and politic rule" he "won the hearts of the people, and destroyed the enemies of the realm."³³² So it is highly probable that Bārāpa was related to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and had nothing to do with Taila II., before whose appearance in the field as an able ruler to shape the destiny of the Deccan of that time he perhaps lost his life. So *Kānyakubjamahibhujo* (po?) of Arisimha probably means the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and they were also the kings of Teliṅgana before 973 A.D., and Merutuṅga's statement is perhaps a mistake in so far as his reference to Tailapa as king of Teliṅgana and overlord of Bārāpa, and not that of Arisimha. Someśvara's statement may refer to either Taila or any one of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings who ruled during the second half of the tenth century. But Taila's name as king of Teliṅgana very likely became famous after

331 *DHNI.*, Vol. II. p. 934.

332 *IA.*, Vol. XII. pp. 199-200.

his conquest and Merutuṅga was easily misled to state that Taila was the king indicated. Bārapa's attack on Pāṭan, therefore, is not enough to suppose the existence of a hostile feeling between Mūlarāja and Taila.

About Kalyāṇakaṭaka and northern origin of the Aṇahilapāṭaka Chālukyas, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has gone a step still further. He wants to identify Kalyāṇakaṭaka with Kanauj itself. He says, "And the traditions are unanimous in saying that his father Rāja (properly Rāji) came from Kalyāṇakaṭaka in Kānyakubja. Where this Kalyāṇakaṭaka is to be located has puzzled many antiquarians. But I think that, in all likelihood, Kalyāṇakaṭaka denotes Kanauj itself. We have seen that Kanauj was known by the name Mahodaya. And Mahodaya and Kalyāṇa are identical in meaning. Secondly, it is to be noted that, in the copper-plate charters of Bhoja, Mahendrapāla and Vināyakapāla, Mahodaya is called a *skandhāvāra*. *Skandhāvāra* and *Kaṭaka*, again, are synonymous terms. Hence Kalyāṇakaṭaka is equivalent to Mahodayaskandhāvāra, so far as their meaning goes. And, as Hindu authors are in the habit of speaking about the same kings and cities in terms different, but equivalent in meaning, it is highly probable that by Kalyāṇakaṭaka in the Kānyakubja country Kanauj is meant."³³³ We do not know how much we can rely on this explanation. The difficulty is that it was the Parihārs that ruled at Kanauj during the period in question and Rāji was not a Parihār but a Chālukya.

But without going in this round-about-way, we have got the mention of a city named Kalyāṇakaṭaka in the litera-

ture of this period. The *Hitopadeśa* was composed³³⁴ some-time about the period under discussion. In this book of stories we have mention of kingdoms, towns and cities, rivers, etc., that had real existence, such as Kausambi, Bārāṇasī, Gauraviṣaya, Mahiṣmatī, Godāvarī etc. In one story, Nārāyaṇa, the author, writes, " *Asti Kalyāṇakaṭake vāstavyo Bhairavo nāma vyādhaḥ/ Sa chaikadā pāpabuddhirlubdho bhrāmyanvindhyaṭavīmadyaṇ gataḥ*/"³³⁵ Here we have a name Kalyāṇakaṭaka in toto and the story tells that it was near the Vindhya. But can such a town have any connection with Kanauj? It can have, in relation to the Chālukyas. We may reasonably believe that possibly there was such a principality in the Vindhya as a feudatory state of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and that Kanauj was held by the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇakaṭaka for a time as their viceroys, or that it was a feudatory state under the Pratihāras on the northern side of the Vindhya.

Dr. Bühler suggests in this connection, as has been quoted before, that the Chālukyas might have ruled in Kanauj during the period about which the history of Kanauj is not known. But even what we know about this time does not admit of an independent Chālukya rule in Kanauj. The author of the *Ratnamālā* says³³⁶ that Bhuvāḍa attacked Gujarāt in 696 A.D. and that he was king of Kalyāṇakaṭaka in Kanauj. This Bhuvāḍa is also said to be a fore-father of Rāji and the line is said to have ruled for several generations in succession. The period under question includes the

334 Dr. Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 263.

335 Nārāyaṇa, *Hitopadeśa*, *Mitralūbha*, (Mr. P. Petersons' Ed.), p. 33.

336 *BG.*, Vol. I. Pt. I. p. 150.

period in which the triangular fight between the Parihārs, the Pālas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas was taking place for the sovereignty of Kanauj. Had the Chālukyas ruled there they could not but have been engaged in the contest as an independent party and we could reasonably expect to get some information, however little it might be, from the plates and other reliable evidences of the three combatants. Dr. H. C. Ray says about this time, "It is very difficult to give any connected account of political happenings in Northern India for about two hundred years after this event.* The Tibetan invasion and control of the Ganges valley, the attempted revival of the Gupta empire by Ādityasena and of the Kanauj empire by Yaśovarman are some of the more important incidents of the first half of this period. The hope of an early revival of the hegemony of Kanauj however was shattered by the ambition of the Kārkoṭa kings of Kashmir. Then followed what may be described as a triangular contest between the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar, the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Malwa and Western India, and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan for the possession of the Ganges-Jumna valley and the city of Kanauj. After a struggle of about half a century, in which fortune showed her fickleness by alternately favouring each of the combatants, she at last became the bride of the Gurjara-Pratihāras."³³⁷ So there is no possibility of an independent Chālukya rule in Kanauj in 696 A.D. or subsequently. It is impossible for the descendants of Bhuvāḍa to rule there in succession for we definitely know that Yaśovarman (A.D. 731-736) and some Parihār kings ruled during this time over Kanauj.

* After the death of Harṣavardhana.

337 *DHNI.*, Vol. I. p. 569.

We know that the early Chālukya kingdom of the Deccan was supplanted by the Rāṣtrakūṭas and that some of the minor Chālukya principalities sprang up as their feudatory states. So it may at most be possible that there was a Chālukya principality in the Vindhyas with its capital at Kalyāṇakāṭaka as a feudatory state of the Rāṣtrakūṭas. They might have fought for them against the Parihārs and Kanauj might have been entrusted to them during their supremacy. It is also probable that this principality was founded by a younger son of Vijayāditya (A.D. 696-733), who, we definitely know, attacked Gujarāt about 696 A.D.³³⁸ This son might be Bhuvāḍa of the Gujarāt chroniclers who might have accompanied his father in his expedition.

The story about Rāji as stated by the Gujarāt chroniclers suggests something other than what it wants to make us believe. The date of accession of Mūlarāja has been ascertained as 961 A.D. So Rāji might have gone to Gujarāta in 935 A.D. or thereabout. About this time the contest for the hegemony of Kanauj between the Parihārs and the Rāṣtrakūṭas had come to an end. The conquest of Indra III. was recovered from the feeble hands of Govinda IV. by Mahipāla-Vināyakapāla.³³⁹ We know that the Chālukya princes of the Deccan came to fight for Kanauj on behalf of the Rāṣtrakūṭas. The *Pampābhārata* says that the Chālukya chief Arikeśarin was a feudatory chief of the Rāṣtrakūṭa Govinda IV. and that his father Nārasimha fought for Indra III. as one of his generals. "The poet Pampa, a protege of Nārasimha, informs us that his patron 'plucked

338 BG., Vol. I. Pt. I. p. 150.

339 JDL., Vol. X. pp. 67-68.

from Gurjara king's arms the Goddess of victory, whom, though desirous of keeping, he had held too loosely. Mahīpāla fled as if struck by thunderbolt, staying neither to eat nor to rest, nor to pick himself up, while Nārasimha pursuing bathed his horses at the junction of the Ganges and established his fame."³⁴⁰ That there was another line of the Chāulkyas in the Deccan who were connected with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas is proved by a grant³⁴¹ found in Maisur (Mysore) in which it is stated that, "To ward off the evil influence of Saturn from Vimalāditya," "a Chālukya prince," "the son of Yaśovarman and grand-son of Balavarman," "a village was granted to a Jaina sage on behalf of a Jaina temple by Govinda III., the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, at the request of Chākirāja of the Gaṅga family, the maternal uncle of Vimalāditya."³⁴² "These three Chālukya names do not occur in the usual genealogy of the family. This therefore appears to have been an independent branch."³⁴³ We have still another Chālukya chief named Vijayāditya³⁴⁴ whom Arikeśarin II., the patron of Pampā, protected from the wrath of Govinda IV. He also cannot be identified with any of the known lists. We have already stated the connection of Bārapa with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. All the Chālukya principalities of the latter part of the tenth century were founded after the dismemberment of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom on its ruins by its feudatories.

Thus we see so many Chālukya feudatory chiefs of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Likewise Rāji might be an one. The story about him relates that he came to Pāṭan in disguise as a

³⁴⁰ *RT.*, p. 102. Quoted from *Karṇāṭakabhāṣābhūṣaṇa*, Introduction, p. XIV.

³⁴¹ *IA.*, Vol. XII. pp. 11-19.

³⁴² *EHD.*, p. 137.

³⁴³ *EHD.*, p. 137.

³⁴⁴ *RT.*, p. 108.

mendicant to visit the temple of Somanātha with very few followers. He was an worn out man and was very unlucky. Probably he was a general in Indra III's campaign of victory over Mahīpāla. But some time about 935 A.D. when the Parihārs regained Kanauj from the feeble hands of Govinda IV., Rāji might have fled to Gujarāt in disguise. Or, quite a different state of affairs might have taken place. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda IV. was not an able ruler. He spent most of his time in the pursuits of pleasure, "with his intelligence caught in the noose of the eyes of women." He "displeased all beings by taking to vicious courses; his limbs becoming enfeebled as his constitution was deranged on account of the aggravation of the maladies, and the constituents of the (political) body becoming non-coherent as the subjects were discontented on account of the aggravation of vices and his innate strength and power becoming neutralised..."³⁴⁵ There was gross mismanagement in the affairs of the state; his feudatories rebelled against him and offered the crown to Vaddigadeva. There is reason to believe that his ambitious son Kṛṣṇa III. worked out the plan and Vaddigadeva ascended the throne as Amoghavarsha III.— "...Then king Amoghavarsha...being entreated by the feudatory chiefs to maintain the greatness of the sovereignty of the Rāṣṭras ascended the throne." Govinda IV., "met with destruction."³⁴⁶ It is possible that Rāji was loyal to Govinda IV., that he had to flee pursued by Kṛṣṇa III. and that his principality might have been annexed thereafter. Or, a third alternative probability may be assumed from the statement of Pampā that Vijayāditya the orna-

345 *JDL.*, Vol. X. p. 67. See also *EI.*, Vol. IV. pp. 283-284, 288.

346 *JDL.*, Vol. X. p. 67. See also *EI.*, Vol. IV. pp. 284, 288.

ment of the Chālukya race was protected by Arikeśarin by unflinchingly lying behind him when Govindarāja was wroth with him.³⁴⁷ Vijayāditya might be the real name of Rāji (and this is probable after his four 'Āditya' ancestors); he might have incurred the displeasure of Govinda IV.; though his life was saved by Arikeśarin II., perhaps his principality was annexed to the kingdom and he had to flee in disguise as a mendicant. Rāji might be a pseudonym and adapted from the title "*Rājā*." If the story of the Gujarāt chroniclers is to be believed, this is a possible explanation. But the chief difficulty is that we have another Chālukya prince of the time, who was helped by Kṛshṇa III. to capture the throne of Veṅgī, known as Vijayāditya, though his popular name was Bādapa.³⁴⁸ He might have been an active member of the conspiracy against Govinda IV. and might have been suspected by him. Kṛshṇa III. in return might have helped him to capture the throne of Veṅgī. But Bādapa mentioned his name as such in his inscription at a later date; his brother Tāla II. also mentions him as Bādapa in his inscription.³⁴⁹ It is probable that his second name Vijayāditya was neither general nor prominent. So Rāji may be the proper Vijayāditya.

The Parihārs are also known to have Chālukya feudatories in Gujarāt. "It is therefore not unlikely that one of these vassals who was connected by blood with the Chālukyas of Kalyani and through marriage with the Pratihāras of Kanauj, overthrew the small Cāpotkaṭa

347 *HI.*, pp. 107-108.

348 *EI.*, Vol. XIX. pp. 142, 146.

349 *Ibid.*, pp. 153, 154.

principality at Pañcāsara. This may have been the origin of the distorted tradition of a prince from Kalyāṇa in Kanauj.³⁵⁰ But had his previous home been anywhere in Gujarāt, the local chroniclers probably would not have stated Kalyāṇakataṭaka to be in Kanauj. To connect Kalyāṇakataṭaka with Kanauj on the assumption of a Chālukya prince, connected with the family of Kalyān by blood, and marrying a Parihār princess, is not very plausible and Dr. H. C. Ray himself does not lay much stress upon it. But it is possible that Kalyāṇakataṭaka of the story of the *Hitopadeśa* was the capital of a Chālukya principality and was situated on the northern side of the Vindhyas. It might have been an independent state in itself, or it might as well have been a feudatory state under the Parihārs. We know that Vinayāditya “was possessed of the *Pālīdhvaja* and all the other mighty insignia of supreme dominion which he had acquired by crushing the lord of all the region of the north : “*Sakal -ottarāpatha -nātha -mathan -opārjjit-orjjita - pālīdhvaj - ādi - samasta - pāramaiśvaryya - chihnasya...*”³⁵¹ His celebrated son Vijayāditya “assisted his father in a campaign to the north, and, pushing on further to the north even than his father, there acquired for him the signs of the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā”³⁵² “and the *pālīdhvaja*” or *pālīketana* “and the insignia of the *dhakkā*-drum, and the *mahāśabda*, and rubies and elephants : *Uttarāpatha -vijigīshor = gguro[r = agrata e]v = āhava-vyāpāram = ācharann = arāti -gaja -ghaṭ -āpātana -viśīryyamāṇa -kṛipāṇa -dhāras = samagra-vigraha-āgre-saras = sat-sāhasa-rasikah parām (rā) mu(nmu)khīkṛita-śatru-maṇḍalo*

350 *DHNI.*, Vol. II. p. 936.

351 *IA.*, Vol. IX. (Text), p. 127, (Translation), p. 129.

352 *BG.*, Vol. I. Pt. II. p. 371.

*Gaṃgā-Yamuna(nā)-pālīdhvaja - pada(?da)ḍa(dha)kkū-mahāśabda - chihna - māṇikya-mataṃga-j-ādīn = pitṛisāt-kurvvan. . . .*³⁵³

We have then two Chālukyas connected with Kanauj, Rāji and Bārapa. Bārapa, as we have seen, was connected both with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Kanauj. Rāji was either a feudatory chief of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who had so many Chālukya princes under them, or he was a vassal of the Parihārs and Kalyāṇakaṭaka was really in the Kanauj territory. The point, however, cannot be finally decided without fresh material throwing light on it.

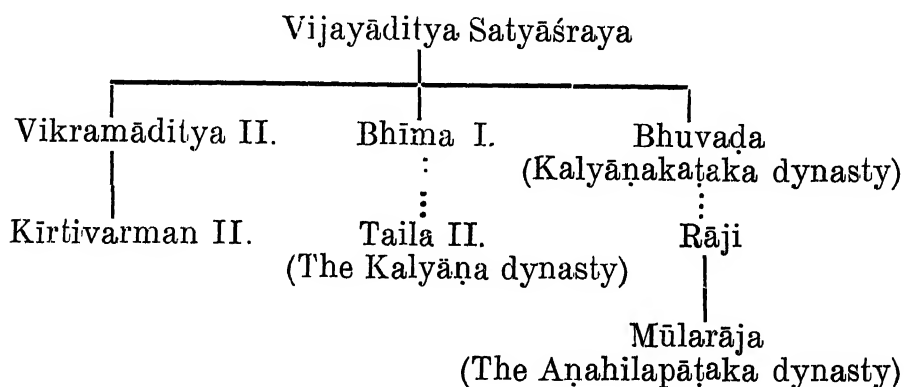
So about the origin of the Chālukyas of Aṇahilapāṭaka it is probable that Vijayāditya of Bādāmi fought in the north; and a younger son, Bhuvāḍa, accompanied him. He might have founded a principality near the Vindhya with its capital at Kalyāṇakaṭaka. After the fall of the Bādāmi dynasty, his descendants probably became feudatory chiefs of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and fought for them against the Parihārs. Kanauj might have been entrusted to them during the period of their victory; but they were finally defeated by the Parihārs. Or, they were feudatories of the Parihārs and their kingdom might have been ruined by Indra III. Rāji, the last prince of this dynasty, fled to Gujarāt in disguise as a mendicant. In course of time he married the sister of Sāmanta Siṃha, the Chauḍa king of Aṇahilapāṭaka. Mūlarāja was born to them and captured the throne of Pāṭan.³⁵⁴

After all, there is no trace of an independent northern Chālukya kingdom and that at Kanauj is an improbabi-

353 *IA.*, Vol. IX. (Text), p. 127, (Translation), p. 129.

354 *DHNI.*, Vol. II. p. 937.

lity during the period in question. If the above observations be correct then the Aṇahilapātaka dynasty becomes connected with that of Bādāmi descending from Vijayāditya. In that case he had at least three sons; from the eldest sprang the main line, that of Vikramāditya II. which probably ended with his son Kīrtivarman II.; from the second the house of Kalyān was descended; and from the third originated the ancestors of Aṇahilapātaka dynasty :



VIII

"In spite of prayers to Somanātha, of incantations, and of gifts to Brāhmins, Siddharāja Jayasiṃha had no son. The throne passed into the line of Tribhuvanapāla the great-grandson of Bhīmadeva I. who was ruling as a feudatory of Siddharāja at his ancestral appanage of Dahithalī."³⁵⁵ Tribhuvana Pāla's son Kumāra Pāla was destined to succeed Siddharāja Jayasiṃha on the throne of Aṇahilapāṭaka. But he did not like him, probably for his Jaina inclinations. Siddharāja was an orthodox Hindu. He probably adopted a son³⁵⁶ and might have tried to establish him on the throne of Pāṭan. He threw every obstacle in the way of Kumāra Pāla and is said to have even tried to murder him. But the latter succeeded after much struggle and with great pains established his authority. Among those who fought for his cause was his cousin Ānaka or Arṇorāja, "a scion of the valiant race of the Solunkhees."³⁵⁷ His father Dhavala, a chief of Bhīmapalli, had married a sister of Kumāra Pāla's mother. So Arṇorāja was connected with Kumāra Pāla both on father and mother's side. In return for his services Kumāra Pāla bestowed on Arṇorāja the village of Vāghela or Vyāghrapalli about ten miles south-west of Pāṭan with the rank of a noble or *Sāmanta*. It is from the name of this village that the family takes its name as Vāghela³⁵⁸ or Bāghela. On the occasion of the birth of Lavanaprasāda to

355 *BG.*, Vol. I. Pt. I. p. 181.

356 *Prabandha Chintāmaṇi* (Tr. by Mr. Tawney), p. 149. fn. 1.

357 *Rās Mālā* (Mr. Rawlinson's Ed.), Vol. I. p. 191.

358 *BG.*, Vol. I. Pt. I. p. 198.

Arjorāja, Kumāra Pāla probably made him further grants³⁵⁹ and allowed him to reign semi-independently over Dholkā, Dhundhukā, and the territory between the Narmadā and the Savarmatī known as Dhavalakka or Dhavalakapurī (modern Dholka). Lavanaprasāda had a son named Vīradhavalā. These Vāghelas were brave fighters and wise statesmen. After the death of Kumāra Pāla, there was a change of the religious policy at the court of Pāṭan. Kumāra Pāla favoured the Jainas probably more out of policy than out of devotion. He knew the value of their friendship. But the policy of his nephew and successor Ajaya Pāla was so reactionary that he was murdered after a reign of about three years probably for his religious policy.³⁶⁰ His minor son *Bāla*-Mūlarāja or *Laghu*-Mūlarāja reigned only for about two years and died. He was succeeded by his younger brother, also a minor, Bhima Deva II. But when he grew up, he also seems to have followed the same course for “the

359 *Rās Mālā*, Vol. I. pp. 191-192; *Prabandha Chintāmaṇi*, p. 149. This is put in the form of a prophesy: One day Arjorāja, while in attendance, came into the presence of the king and was reclining on a sofa, when his servant came to him from Dholka. He went out and learnt that a son was born to him. The king asked what it was all about. He replied that a son was born to His Majesty. (A polite form). “The king thought over the matter in silence for some time, and then said openly to him, ‘This child, in order to announce whose birth this servant penetrated in here, without being interfered with by the doorkeepers,—on account, I say, of so great an accumulation of merit, this child will be a king in Gajarāt, but not in this city, nor in this palace. Because you were called away from this place, before the birth of a son was announced to you, therefore he will not be lord over this city.’ Such was the decision of king Kumārapāla, the Brahmā of discrimination.” But the historical value of such prophecies cannot be taken for granted.

360 *DHNI.*, Vol. II. p. 1003.

hearts of Merutunga and Someśvara" and the Jaina chroniclers in general "were not with Bhīma. The sovereign of Aṇahilavāḍ interested them no longer."³⁶¹ The contemporary epigraphic evidence and testimony of the Muhammadan historians show that Bhīma was "by no means a contemptible ruler" "in direct opposition to the chroniclers" who make him a "*Bholo* or simpleton."³⁶² The Vāghelas knew the value of friendship of these wealthy Jaina merchants, and though they remained devoted Śaivas, they began to patronise them liberally when they turned to the court of Dhavalakapuri or Dhavalakagrha. Vīradhavalā appointed two able Jaina ministers, Vastupāla and Tejahpāla who were probably in Bhīma Deva's court³⁶³ but deserted him for his religious intoleration. Under the able and judicious administration of these ministers, the *Dhavalakula* or *Dhavalānvaya* began to grow in power and prosperity.

After the death of Bhīma Deva II. the throne of Pāṭan went to the Vāghelas and Viradhavalā's son Viśaladeva ascended the throne as the first Vāghela king of Pāṭan.³⁶⁴ Historians have suspected the legitimate claim of the Vāghelas, and with some of them the rise of the Vāghelas was by acts of usurpation. Dr. Bühler thinks of "hostile engagements which, no doubt, occurred between the two Dholkā chiefs and Bhīmadeva."³⁶⁵ Pandit Bhagvānlāl Indraji is also of opinion that "it seems probable that they

361 *IA.*, Vol. VI. p. 187.

362 *Ibid.*; *DHNI.*, Vol. II. p. 1026.

363 Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. X., Jaya Simha Suri, *Vastupāla-Tejahpālaprasastih*, p. 63, V. 50; *DHNI.*, Vol. II. p. 1029.

364 Merutunga, *Viçhārasreṇi*. Quoted by Dr. Bühler, *IA.*, Vol. VI. p. 190.

365 *IA.*, Vol. VI. p. 189.

usurped the actual power from Bhīma though till A.D. 1242 (S. 1295) Bhīma continued to be nominal sovereign.”³⁶⁶ Dr. H. C. Ray also arrives at the conclusion that Lavana-prasāda and Viradhavala “while acknowledging the nominal sovereignty of Bhīma II, gradually carved out a principality round Dhavalakka (Dholka), between the Sabarmati and the Narbada.”³⁶⁷ The contemporary facts and figures, are not only against it but lead to just the opposite conclusion.

After the death of Ajaya Pāla, the affairs at Pāṭan went from bad to worse. Two minor sons succeeded him one after another. The eldest *Bāla*-Mūlarāja ascended the throne under the regency of his mother, a Kadamba princess of rare ability named Nāiki, daughter of king Paramarddin. A minor king on the throne under the regency of a lady drew the eagle eyes of the surrounding princes and the Muhammadans and they lost no time in attacking the kingdom of Aṇahilapāṭaka. But “his mother, queen Nāiki, the daughter of king Paramarddin, taking her son in her lap, fought at a *ghāt* named Gāḍarāraghaṭṭa, and conquered the king of the Mlecchas, by the aid of a mass of rain-clouds, that came out of season attracted by her virtue”³⁶⁸ and “Mūla-deva even in childhood defeated the Muhammadans.”³⁶⁹ But he reigned only for about two years. *Parābhūta-durjjaya - Garjjanakādhirāja*³⁷⁰ “*Mlechchhatamonichaya-chchhanna - (mahī) - valaya - pradyotana bālārka*”³⁷¹ Mūlarāja II. “went to heaven even in youth as if desirous of (meet-

366 BG., Vol. I. Pt. I. p. 197. 367 DHNI., Vol. II. p. 1027.

368 Prabandha Chintāmaṇi, p. 154.

369 DHNI., Vol. II. p. 1004.

370 IA., Vol. VI, p. 194. (No. 3. line 10).

371 Ibid., p. 199 (No. 5. lines 12-13).

ing) his father there.”³⁷² His younger brother Bhīma II. succeeded him. He was of course another minor and all sorts of troubles, both internal and external, almost upset the government. The kingdom of this boy king “was divided amongst themselves, by his ministers and dependent kings.”³⁷³ Arṇorāja was still living. It was too much for him to see that the glory of the Chaulukyas would be eclipsed in this way. He “resented this act of spoliation, and began to establish the sovereignty of his house again. He fought bravely all his life, and was killed in his attempt at re-organising the kingdom which was broken up.”³⁷⁴ The Muhammadan invaders and the surrounding princes lost no time in taking advantage of the situation. In this state of affair, “considering that Arṇorāja son of Dhavala, the chief of Bhīmapalli, who was an object of Kumārapāla’s favour, made him king, Bhīma entrusted his kingdom to Lavaṇaprasāda, son of Arṇorāja.”³⁷⁵ Very soon the kingdom was attacked on all sides. Sultān Mu’izzud Din “marched an army towards Nahrwālah by way of Uchchah and Multān.”³⁷⁶ We do not know whether the brave mother survived the shock of the death of her eldest son and was

372 *DHNI.*, Vol. II. p. 1005. Quoted from *Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kattywar* (Bhavnagar Archaeological Department) p. 213.

373 Someśvara, *Kīrtikaumudī* (Edited by Prof. A. V. Kāthavate), Introduction, p. XIII.

374 *Ibid.*

375 Gaekwad’s Oriental Series, No. X. Udayaprabha, *Sukṛtakīrtikallolīnī*. Mr. C. D. Dalal’s Summary of the Historical events, p. XII. “Made him king” refers to Bhīmadeva II. and not to Kumārapāla.

376 Maulānā Minhāj-ud-dīn, *The Tabakāt-i-Nāṣirī* (Translated by Major H. G. Raverty), Vol. I. p. 451; *DHNI.*, Vol. II. p. 1017.

alive, but the famous guardian Vīradhavalā was equal to the task. "The Rāe of Nahrwālah, Bhīm Diw, was young in years, but he had numerous forces and many elephants; and when a battle took place, the army of Islām was defeated and put to the rout, and the Sultān-i-Ghāzī returned again without having accomplished his designs."³⁷⁷ He again attacked Gujarāt and "the Prince Bhim-dew (a lineal descendant from Brahma* Dew of Guzerat, who opposed Mahmood Ghiznevy,) advanced with an army, to resist the Mahomedans, and defeated them with great slaughter. They suffered many hardships in their retreat, before they reached Ghizny."³⁷⁸ "The victory was so decisive that the Muslims apparently made no serious efforts to recover their position for about 20 years."³⁷⁹ Again "when Vīradhavalā was reigning at Dhavalakapurī a mighty 'army of horse of the *Turuṣka-viras*' came to attack Gujarat by way of the Maru. Vīradhavalā, however, promptly appeared in the Marudeśa before the *Mleccha Cakravartī*. Somasiṃha, Udayasiṃha, and Dhārāvarṣa, the princes of the Maru country and Bhīmasiṃha of Surāṣṭra, joined him against the Mlecchas.... The approach of Vīradhavalā and the intrigues of his spies in the end compelled the Muslim prince to beat a hasty retreat towards Mathurā, his own principality."³⁸⁰ Sohaḍa, king of Mālava also attacked Gujarāt but was put to flight by the Gujarāt army.³⁸¹ About his fight with the Indian

377 *Tabakāt-i-Nāṣirī*, Vol. I. pp. 451-452; *DHNI.*, Vol. II. p. 1017.

* Properly Bhīma I.

378 *Tārīkh-i Firista* (Translated by Major General John Briggs, *History of the Rise Of The Mahomedan Power in India, till the year A.D. 1612*, Vol. I. p. 170. . . . 379 *DHNI.*, Vol. II. p. 1017.

380 *Ibid.*, pp. 1020-1021. . . . 381 *Ibid.*, p. 1022..

princes, we are told that "Lavaṇaprasāda, who was a minister of Bhīma" wrought "victories over Coḍa, Kerala, Lāṭa, Mālava, Rāḍha, and the Hūṇas."³⁸² But in spite of all his care and vigilance, the kingdom was actually over-run and the capital raided by Kutubuddin after severe struggle, and was even temporarily occupied by him,³⁸³ but was probably recovered by Viradhavala. The Yādava army under Singhana also raided the kingdom and devastated the country side. Being simultaneously attacked by the kings of Marwar, Godhra, and Lāṭa, who betrayed him, Viradhavala had to sue for peace with the Yādavas.³⁸⁴ Viradhavala is said to have once been even made a prisoner.³⁸⁵ Thus he fought throughout his life.

But internal intrigues were even more dangerous. One Jayantasimha usurped the throne of Bhīma II. for a time.³⁸⁶ He was probably restored by the Vāghelas. The country was in great disorder. In these circumstances Lavaṇaprasāda and Viradhavala, who shared the burden of his father, tried their best to uphold the interest and dignity of their king and glory of their family. So there is nothing suspicious in the behaviour of these Vāghelas to warrant any conclusion of betrayal or usurpation on their part.

Certain other facts have also been misunderstood. Someśvara describes in his poem *Kīrtikaumudī* that one day Lavaṇaprasāda dreamt that Gurjara *Rāja-Lakṣmī*, sorely tormented by crowds of enemies, appeared to him, narrated to him some of the past glories and present mismanagement

382 *DHNI.*, Vol. II. p. 1022; Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. VII. Bālachandra Śūri, *Vasantavilāsamahākāvya*, p. 13, Canto III. VV. 42-43.

383 *DHNI.*, Vol. II. p. 1020. 384 *Ibid.*, pp. 1024-1025.

385 *Ibid.*, p. 1032.

386 *IA.*, Vol. VI. pp. 188, 196-199.

of the affairs. She then threw her garland on the chair and vanished together with his dream.³⁸⁷ Dr. Bühler has translated this 'Sanskrit dream' into too "plain English."³⁸⁸ It may be enough to point out that Someśvara and other poets of the age were mostly Brāhmaṇas and priests and these people are very fond of dreams, prophecies and supernatural occurrences, and, as the whole classical Sanskrit literature testifies, see them in season and out of season. They cannot be explained in Dr. Bühler's way without further historical evidence from other authentic sources.

As Dr. H. C. Ray observes,³⁸⁹ it is true that some of the inscriptions of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla such as the Girnar and Ābu inscriptions do not mention Bhīma Deva, but mention Lavanaprasāda as *Mahārājādhirāja*. Girnar and Ābu were perhaps outside the kingdom of Aṇahilapāṭaka and these ministers not only did not like Bhīma but disliked him. But whatever it might be, it is a fact that both Lavanaprasāda and Viradhavala reigned at Dholkā as *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* and both of them died before Bhīma Deva II. We also know that after the death of Viradhavala, there was a rivalry for the throne of Dhavalakapurī between his two sons Virama and Vīsala. As pointed out by Dr. H. C. Ray,³⁹⁰ Virama seems to have reigned as a *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* for some time. The colophon of a palm-leaf manuscript states that Virama ruled

387 *IA.*, Vol. VI. p. 189.

388 *Ibid.*, Dr. Bühler says that this story means that "for a time Lavanaprasāda, and perhaps also Viradhavala, served Bhīmadeva, but that later, either disgusted with his arrogance and folly, or in despair of overcoming his numerous enemies, they separated from him, and took what they could lay hold of."

389 *DHNI.*, Vol. II. pp. 1027-1028.

390 *Ibid.*, p. 1033.

from Vidyutpura during the reign of Bhīma Deva: *Samvat 1296 varṣe āsau sudi 3 gurau adyeha rājāvalī-samalaṅkṛta -Mahārājādhirāja -Śrī -Bhīmadevaviṣayarājye pravartamāne Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara -Rāṇaka -Śrī -Viramadeva-rājadhānau Vidyutpura-sthitena Śrī—*.³⁹¹ Even Viśaladeva ascended the throne as a '*Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rāṇaka-Viśaladeva*.'³⁹² The two brothers contested not for the throne of Pāṭan but for the throne of Dholakapurī.

The contemporary evidence, on the contrary, shows that Viradhavala was all powerful in the kingdom; the whole responsibility was entrusted to him and he could any day capture the throne without much trouble if he liked. We are told that his minister Vastupāla instigated him to assume the title of *Mahārāja*. But he refused.³⁹³ So as Prof. A. V. Kathavate observes, "There is no mention anywhere of any actual hostility between the house of *Dholka* and *Paṭṭana*. *Bhīmadeva*, though personally valiant, seems to have allowed himself quietly to be superseded by his ambitious kinsmen, first in actual power and then in rank."³⁹⁴

We think that this apathy was not without reason. The state of affairs indicates that Bhīma had no son. So the throne of Pāṭan was destined to go to a collateral branch and the Vāghelas might be next in the succession list as indicated by the chroniclers. There were perhaps other claimants. Jayantasimha might be one such. It might be that during an illness or some such misfortune of Bhīma

391 Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. VII., *Vasantavilāsamahākāvya*, Introduction, p. XI. fn. 4.

392 *DHNI.*, Vol. II. p. 1032.

393 *Kīrtikaumudī*, Introduction, p. XXV. fn.

394 *Ibid.*, p. XXVI.

Deva in which his death was anticipated, Jayantasimha proclaimed himself king. The capture of the throne by him does not indicate a wholesale usurpation. But Bhīma perhaps recovered and the interference of Vīradhavalā probably put him on the throne again. Tribhuvanapāla³⁹⁵ was probably another such claimant who aspired for the throne but was ousted by the superior forces of Viśaladeva. After the trouble of Jayantasimha was over, probably one “next day in court, in the presence of his nobles, when Lavaṇaprasāda and Vīradhavalā entered the king said to Lavaṇaprasāda: Your father Arjorāja seated me on the throne: you should therefore uphold my power: in return I will name your son Vīradhavalā my heir-apparent”³⁹⁶ in order to avoid any such trouble again by making the succession clear. But Vīradhavalā did not live long enough to ascend the throne of Pāṭan. Bhīma Deva out-lived him and was succeeded by his son Viśaladeva.

Even Viśaladeva did not usurp the throne. The Jaina chroniclers have narrated his contest with his elder brother Virama for the throne of Dholakapurī. The Jaina tradition states that Viśaladeva, with the help of Vastupāla, poisoned his father and brother.³⁹⁷ This is a heinous crime specially according to the Jaina faith which forbids killing even an ant. So had Viśaladeva usurped the throne of Pāṭan there could have been no hesitation on the part of the Jaina chroniclers to state it. In these circumstances we believe that their statements are no “whitewash”³⁹⁸ but true and the

395 *IA.*, Vol. VI. pp. 190, 208-210.

396 *BG.*, Vol. I. Pt. I. pp. 196-197.

397 *Ibid.*, p. 203; *IA.*, Vol. VI. p. 190.

398 *DHNI.*, Vol. II. p. 1028.

Vāghelas succeeded Bhīma Deva by right of inheritence and the king's nomination. Dr. Bühler observes, "All the Gujārātī chroniclers close the list of the Chaulukya kings of the main line with Bhīmadeva. If grant No. 10 now furnishes the name of an additional king, Tribhuvanapāla, who held Anhilavād (in) 1299 Vikrama, after Bhīmadeva's death, and declares himself to be 'meditating on his feet,' *i.e.* to be his lawful successor, the most probable solution of the difficulty is that this ruler maintained himself only for a short time, and was not generally acknowledged as king of Gujārāt. In favour of this view Merutunga's statement, from the *Vīchārasreṇī*, may be adduced, according to which Visaladeva the son of Viradhavala succeeded to the throne of Anhilvād in 1300 Vikrama, or 1243-44 A.D., as the first Chaulukya king of the Vāghelā branch. Merutunga's dates have been proved to be correct in so many cases which appeared as first sight rather doubtful that I have no hesitation in accepting them as long as they are not proved to be wrong by very strong evidence."³⁹⁹

The chroniclers do not mention the ancestors of the Vāghelas before Dhavala. But their statements indicate that they succeeded to the throne of Pāṭan peacefully as rightful claimants. It may be that they were descended from prince Mūlarāja, eldest son of Bhīma I., who died a premature death. Bhīma I. had three sons. The eldest Mūlarāja died before his father. The second Karna's line ended with his son Siddharāja Jayasimha. Among the descendants of Haripāla or Kṣemarāja, the third son of Bhīma I., Kumāra Pāla had no son. So the line perhaps ended with Bhīma II. It may be that Dhavala, father of Arjorāja, was a son of

prince Mūlarāja. It must be remembered that the Gujarāti chroniclers do not mention anything like this. But they have not also described some other relations which we know from other sources. Merutuṅga has given us some account of prince Mūlarāja. He says that one year there was no harvest, for want of rain and the poor peasants were brought to Pāṭan by the officers of the king for non-payment of rent. The prince championed their cause and had the tax remitted by the king. Then to the grief and misfortune of all, the prince died after three days. There was a very good harvest the year after and the peasants brought to the king the rent of both the years. But the king would not take the rent of the year that was remitted and the peasants on the other hand insisted on paying. Finally it was decided by the court that the king should accept it. "Then, with that money, and other money contributed from the treasury, king Bhīma caused to be built a new temple; called Tripuruṣaprasāda, for the welfare of prince Mūlarāja."⁴⁰⁰ It might be that Kumāra Pāla loved Arjorāja so much and allowed him to rule semi-independantly remembering that had not prince Mūlarāja died a pre-mature death Arjorāja might have ruled in his place. Prof. A. V. Kathavate suggests that though Lavanaprasāda and Vīradhavalā "had cast *Bhīmadeva*, into shade, had not yet formally assumed the title of the kings of *Paṭṭana*."⁴⁰¹ He also says, "Thus, it would appear that *Viśaladeva* put his foot on the step from which *Lavanaprasāda* and *Vīradhavalā* kept themselves back half out of chivalry and half

400 *Prabandha Chintāmaṇi*, p. 78. See pp. 77-78.

401 *Kīrtikāumudī* (Introduction), p. XXV.

out of policy.”⁴⁰² It might be that as they knew that the throne was sure to come to them, they waited patiently till the death of Bhīma but fought their best to keep the integrity of the kingdom out of policy.

The Vāghelas were so called at a later date. In the beginning they mentioned themselves as Chaulukyas. Someśvara mentions Arjorāja as :

*Atha tatraiva Chaulukyavaṃśo śūkhāntarodataḥ/
Arjorājah sa rājarṣistannāmarṣata viplavam* // ¹⁰³

In his own inscription, Viśaladeva is : *Umāpatī-vara-labdha-prasāda -prauḍha-pratāpa -Chaulukya -kula-kamalinī-kalikā -vikāśa -mārtanḍa -Śiṃghaṇa -sainya -samudra-saṃśoṣaṇa -vadavānala-Mālavādhīśa-māna-mardana-Medapātakadeśa-kaluṣa-rājya-vallīkaṃdochchhe(da) nakuddāla-kalpa-Karṇāta-rāja -jaladhi- tanayā- svayaṃvara puruṣot-tama-bhūja-bala-bhīma abhinavasiddharāja apar-Ārjjune-tyādi sakala biradāvalīsamalaṅkṛta Mahārājādhirāja Śrīmad Viśala-devakalyāṇa-vijayi rājye.*¹⁰⁴

The Bāghelas of Rewa state that “a son of Vīradhavalā (1219-38), called Vyāghradev, made his way into northern India and obtained possession of the fort of Marpha, 18 miles north-east of Kālinjar.”⁴⁰⁵ “Vyāghradev married the daughter of Rājā Mukunddev Chandrāvāt and had five sons. The eldest Karnadev succeeded him.”⁴⁰⁶ He “married Padma Kunwarī, daughter of Somadatta, the Haihaya chief of Ratanpur, who brought him in her dowry

402 *Kīrtikaumudī* (Introduction) p. xxv.

403 *Ibid.*, p. 14, Canto. II. V. 62.

404 *IA.*, Vol. VI. p. 210. (No. 11, lines 3-6).

405 *Rewah State Gazetteer*, p. 12.

406 *Ibid.*

the fort of Bāndhogarh. Karna moved his residence to the fort, which became the foundation of the future Baghela dominions, and was their capital till 1597."⁴⁰⁷ We know from Babar's *Autobiography* that "Narsing Deo" properly Birsing Dev assisted Mahārāṇā Saṅgrām Siṃha of Chitore, grand-father of Mahārāṇā Pratapa Siṃha against Babar in the battle of Kanwāha (March 16th, 1527).⁴⁰⁸ The celebrated musician Tānsen⁴⁰⁹ and the famous wit Rājā Birbal⁴¹⁰ were originally attached to the Bāghela court of Rāma Chandra. The capital was transferred to Rewa in 1567 A.D. after a war of succession.⁴¹¹

So the Chālukya genealogy may be summed up in two parts: We have already discussed the Purāṇic portion in detail upto Hārīta (p. 93). Chuluka was one of his successors and his descendants were known as the *Chaulukyas*, the *Chaulukāyanas* or the *Chālukyas*. The historical portion begins with Pañchaśikha who was a descendant of one of these Brāhmaṇa sages. Some of his descendants took more delight in martial pursuits and turned Kṣatriyas. Pulakeśī I, a descendant of this group, carved out a principality and founded the Chālukya dynasty of Bādāmi. The relationship between the different Chālukya families is shown in the genealogical table sketched below.

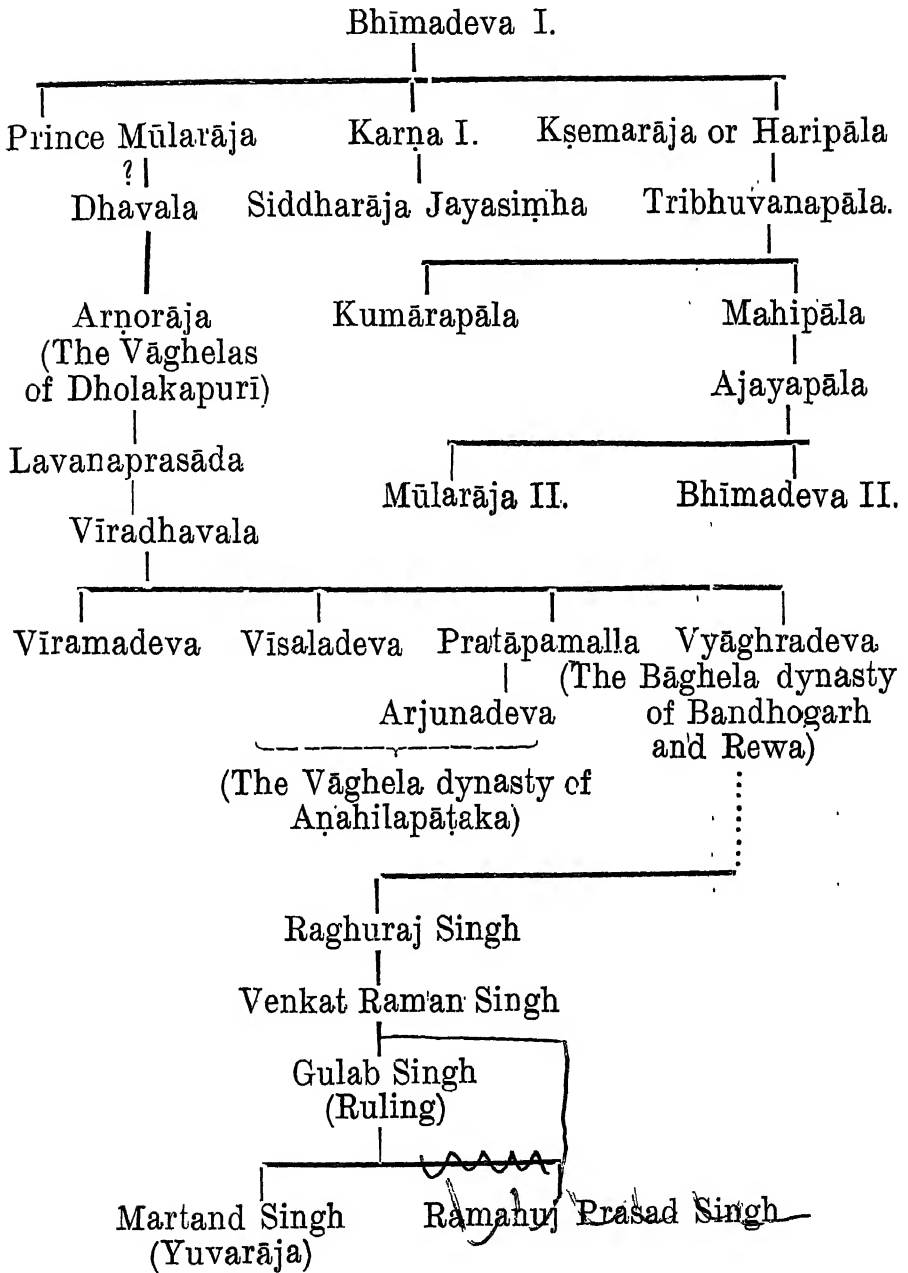
407 *Rewah State Gazetteer*, p. 12

408 Dr. J. Leyden and Mr. W. Erskine, *Memoirs of Zehār-Ed-Dīn Muhammed Bābur* (annotated and revised by Sir Lucus King, 1921), Vol. II. p. 293.

409 *Rewah State Gazetteer*, p. 15.

410 *Ibid.*, fn. 7.

411 *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 101-102.



ERRATA

Page	line	for	Greeko-Bacterian	read	Greco-Bactrian
1	21	therin		therein	
2	2	skillfully		skilfully	
4	4	Mahāmahopādyāya		Mahāmahopādhyāya	
6	20	1583-1613		1583 and 1613	
6	26	inacuracy		inaccuracy	
11	2	descendant		descendants	
13	7	Parihars		Parihārs	
13	15	among at the		among the	
14	28	and the Mlechchhas		and the Hārītas, the Mlechchhas	
15	2	propiciate		propitiate	
21	25	Gohilots		Guhilots	
26	25	Gohilots		Guhilots	
26	27	Gohilots		Guhilots	
34	7	whomsoever		whosoever	
42	23	bron		born	
54	30	cultured,		cultured	
55	21	Śabara		Śavara	
55	22	Śabara		Śavara	
64	24	Bārhaspatya		Vāchaspatya	
69	8	out himself		himself out	
86	8	him		his mother	
90	8	Maitravāruṇī		Maitravāruṇī	
101	18	an		a	
128	8	Spoilation		spoliation	

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Purāṇa. Viṣṇu Purāṇa.*

Mahābhārata; Harivaṃsa.

Bhāgavat Gītā.

*Vedānta Sūtra with Śaṅkara's Śārīraka Bhāṣya and Vāchaspati Miśra's
Bhāmatī Tīkā.*

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